Why We Don't Like People

BY DONALD A. LAIRD, PH.D., D.SC.
PROFESSOR AND HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT
OF PSYCHOLOGY, COLGATE UNIVERSITY

"If I had had this book a few years ago I would have had a far greater number of friends than I have now. I did not realize until Doctor Laird worked it out that if you talk too fast people don't like you. Or, if you repeat what they have just said, or flatter them or have ideas too modern, or laugh loud or are too energetic or too enthusiastic people don't like you. Doctor Laird shows you many easy ways to promote your happiness and influence. The book is an important contribution to the psychology of being happy."

ALBERT EDWARD WIGGAM, author of *The Marks of an Educated Man* and *New Decalogue of Science.*

Why We Don't Like People

BY DONALD A. LAIRD

WHY WE DON'T LIKE PEOPLE is an important book devoted to a new knowledge—Personality.

"Personality plus" is a thing that has been attributed to many successful people—in and out of the business world—all of us want to have it—and Dr. Laird shows that it can be acquired not in ten easy lessons, or in a correspondence course, but by knowing oneself and knowing the reactions of other people.

No one yet knows how large a part of the population suffers from inadequate personality adjustment. The data already developed deals principally with the relation of personality to efficiency in business—and this newer knowledge about personal analysis is being widely used to help individuals overcome personality handicaps from which even the highest skill and ability suffers.

In WHY WE DON'T LIKE PEOPLE the author has carefully presented the important factors that are necessary to build personality and character. Furthermore, one is enabled to classify oneself by charts which have been prepared with an eye to the proper correction and aid to character improvement.

A vast number of books have been written on how to enter a room, how to be a high pressure salesman, and the like, but no one has yet done a liberal and intelligent analysis of character and personality as is offered in WHY WE DON'T LIKE PEOPLE. It is practically a handbook of personal psychology.

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WHY WE DON'T LIKE PEOPLE

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

PSYCHOLOGY AND PROFITS. *B. C. Forbes Publishing Co.*
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TO THE SEVEN THOUSAND BUSINESS MEN AND WOMEN WHO SOUGHT GUIDANCE AND INSIGHT THROUGH THE PERSONAL ADVISORY SERVICE AND WHOM THE AUTHOR TRIED TO HELP

TWO WARNINGS!

First—It will be most natural for you to think of *other people* as you read these pages. You will find yourself neglecting to apply to your *own* life and affairs the new material you discover. But take warning! To get the full value out of this book you must think of how it applies, not simply to others, but to yourself—even if it hurts to do so.

Second—As you become more familiar with this material you will discover that the insight it gives you into human nature will rob you of the inclination to ridicule or condemn the pettinesses of others. You will probably find your impulses of hostile criticism or contempt supplanted by a mild amusement at human foibles. If you wish to dislike people or be peeved by them you are warned not to read this book at all. But even in that case it will be worth your while to learn from the preface something of the vistas which are being opened as the scientific worker examines under the microscope that elusive factor in our lives—Personality.

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PREFACE

THE NEW KNOWLEDGE ABOUT PERSONALITY

PERSONALITY is recognized by the average person as a group of qualities of considerable importance in everyday living and working. It is recognized by most scientists as a very nebulous, shifting thing, difficult to isolate and study. Personality cannot be inspected as can a balance sheet or an architect's drawing. It will not stand still to allow long continued observation; it has to be caught on the run with a rapid lens. It cannot be reproduced by a studio portrait. Only a motion picture can depict it adequately.

Its elusiveness when one tries to pin it down for study has been one of the major reasons for the apparent neglect of the subject of personality by the world of psychological science. For in trying its practical wings psychology has largely neglected the measurement and control of human personality. Our experimental knowledge about intelligence and the learning processes is voluminous and fairly complete. But our verified knowledge of the uniquely human qualities of personality is still incomplete and sketchy.

Each year in the past half-decade, however, has seen an increasing amount of experimental work undertaken on normal personality in business and in social life.

This work is undoubtedly gaining momentum. Through its findings we may expect to have shortly a more complete knowledge of the side of human nature which, quite independent of his intelligence and skill, makes one man a demon for work, another a loafer, one a deadly bore and the next "the life of the party". There is already enough verified information to be tremendously useful to the average person who seeks a better understanding of himself and his neighbors. But there are still gaps in our information which challenge further constructive experimentation.

Psychologists who are known principally for their work on intelligence testing have recognized the practical importance of the study of personality. Rudolf Pintner, who has developed performance tests of intelligence, has written that "the time is now ripe for active investigations of the emotions, the character, the will and so forth, by means of mental test methods". Lewis M. Terman, who has done more than any other individual to promote intelligence tests, states that among the next steps in psychological investigations are studies of "emotional and volitional traits, and the combinations of these which are involved . . . in normal variations in temperament". Terman himself is branching into this work.

"Though intelligence is an asset in life, it does not by any means cover all the deficiencies of one's equipment for life," comments R. S. Woodworth of Columbia University. Although Dr. Woodworth has done but little experimental work along these lines, his words are important because of the position of pro-

fessional leadership which he occupies. He continues, "The emotions need to be considered, the health and energy of the individual, his persistence, poise, sociability, and many characteristics which go to make up his personality".

Many capable persons believe that success in their chosen work is assured by mere knowledge of the details of the job, *plus hard work*. The narrowed view which springs from this ill-founded belief has kept many from achieving their real possibilities, either in business or in social activities.

From many psychological laboratories in recent years has come more encouraging and positive knowledge that something beside hard work and simple job knowledge builds achievement. This newer knowledge about personal analysis is being widely used to help individuals overcome personality handicaps from which even the highest skill and ability suffer.

These handicaps are not ignorance of the job or laziness. They are traits of personality of which the individual himself is usually unaware. Most of us do not know what traits others ascribe to us, nor do we know what traits have been found important for business and social success.

No one knows yet how large a part of the population suffers from inadequate personality adjustment. The data already developed deal principally with the relation of personality to efficiency in business. Progressive industrial leaders have for some time been especially concerned about the need for personality study and personality development among the high-

grade executives of outstanding ability. Many of these men are prevented from realizing the full fruits of their capabilities by slight personality handicaps, of which they themselves are usually ignorant.

One large organization in the East which employs around 3,000 persons has one highly trained psychologist whose sole occupation is helping correct the more serious personality handicaps among employees. He reports that approximately 20 per cent of their employees have serious personality handicaps, so severe in some cases that they almost amount to a disordered personality. Before the psychologist joined the staff to help just such cases, whether severe or commonplace, these employees were either discharged, were denied promotion, or worked in silent suffering.

Practical business has far outdone the professional psychologist in placing a high value on personality. It is likely that business has at least mis-emphasized, if not actually over-emphasized, the importance of personality in business success. This over-valuation probably arises from the fact that in late years business has been fighting for profits in a customer's market. This situation naturally fostered a high valuation of sales work. In many sectors of the industrial world the so-called "sales personality" has been at a premium. There would be no harm in this if it were confined to the sales side of an organization, but in the continual pressure to keep up sales there has apparently been such a generalization of this high esteem of the "sales personality" that even plant engineers and draftsmen are to a large extent selected and promoted on the basis

of the amount of "sales personality" which they display. As will be evident in this book this is a dangerous mis-valuation of personality.

The present book has not grown out of an over-valuation of personality. The importance of personality in the practical world is recognized, but it is not held capable of supplanting real ability and hard work in bringing achievement and worthy success. Although real ability may be hopelessly crippled by a twisted personality which will not pass inspection, there is no reason to believe that personality can permanently take the place of ability itself. One pitfall of the worship of the "sales personality" is that it has led to an unexpressed attitude that personality by itself is more vital than plugging and capability. That this book is not founded upon an over-valuation of personality as a building stone is indicated by the fact that only about one-third of the work of the laboratory from which this material came is devoted to personality.

The chapters of this book are based almost entirely upon the experimental work completed in the Colgate University Psychological Laboratory since the author took charge of the laboratory in 1924. Some of the material has not been previously published. Practically all of it is still hot from the forges of science. It is not possible to give a complete picture of personality, for there are still many problems to be solved in this work, practical problems as well as those concerned purely with scientific method. But the material which is presented covers a wide range of human relationships and

should be intensely practical as well as highly personal.

No one individual can be given credit for any single contribution or discovery from the Colgate laboratory. The industrial type of line and staff organization is used in the laboratory; conferences of groups of student workers are held continually, and ideas are being constantly cross-bred as an experiment is being planned and later executed. While this method may be best for producing results and for training students for later responsibility in the industrial world, it unfortunately does not always allow the laboratory to give complete acknowledgment for experimental findings to a specific individual. We must work one for all and all for one experiment. In fact, the method itself may be considered a successful experiment in personality.[1]

Mention can be made, however, of the work of Robert Colwell, Daniel De Noylles, Robert Ellwood, Ralph K. Hoitsma, James C. Hunter, Albert E. Manchee, Franklin G. Osgood, and Harl C. Wolver in the development of the Colgate Mental Hygiene Tests, of Professor John C. Tremper in the work on the inheritance of introversion-extroversion, of Robert C. Little and Dr. William L. Wheeler, Jr. on the morphologic relations of introversion-extroversion, of Professor Thomas McClumpha and Roswell P. Whitman on sex differences, of Harrison L. Freise and Raymond Van

[1] Acknowledgment should be made to the following for permission to include material which was originally published under their auspices: The New York Times, The Rehabilitation Review, the NEA Service, The Philadelphia Public Ledger.

Horn on marital compatibility, of Everet Holt and Stanley Copeland on traits associated with industrial leadership, and of H. C. Brownell and J. Bateman Young on educational bearings of personality.

In the presentation of this material we have no axe to grind. We are supporting no definite theory. No special definition of personality will be defended. This book is simply a brief, practical presentation of what is actually found by experimental methods in studying human qualities other than intelligence and sensory functions. It deals principally with the responses which these qualities arouse in those about us. The whole discussion has been kept as free from technical terms as possible.

Readers of certain personality make-ups may feel offended at some pages. To any such we can only say that the value of a work like the present one depends on its covering the subject as frankly and completely as scientifically validated knowledge at present allows.

DONALD A. LAIRD

Hamilton, N. Y.
May, 1931

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

THE reception given the first edition of this work by critics, business persons, and general readers has been flattering to its practical aim of smoothing life's road by giving a clear outline of personal habits and traits that help as well as those that hinder. Its adoption by organizations such as the Camp Fire Girls and for executive training programs indicates its social and business usefulness.

In preparing this second edition, consequently, care has been exercised in adding new material which will maintain the same practical level in many walks of life, as well as to extend its helpfulness to the earlier readers who quickly exhausted the first printing.[1]

I hope that new readers will find the book valuable, and that former readers will find its value to them increased in this new edition.

Rivercrest
Hamilton, N. Y.
September, 1933.

DONALD A. LAIRD

[1] Acknowledgment is made to The American Weekly for permission to include material which was originally published under its auspices.

WHY WE DON'T LIKE PEOPLE

CHAPTER I

PEOPLE WE LIKE

One afternoon not long ago a usually placid young friend of mine, a student who is preparing for the ministry, came to pay me a call. He was in a visibly upset frame of mind. The story he told me in explanation of his mood was not a cheerful one. In bleak simplicity it revealed the magnitude of the emotional chasm between man and man. It threw a pitiless light on the apparently futile effort of one individual's lifetime to establish any sympathetic contact even with those who lived almost at his side.

This student is earning a large portion of his educational expenses by supplying a small rural church buried in the hills, thirty miles from the Colgate campus. The preceding day he had gone through the ordeal of his first funeral ceremony. Under any conditions this would have been trying, but it was not the sight of grief that had unnerved him on this occasion. It was the absence of grief.

As the young theologue had finished the service over the grave, the group of neighbors of the dead man had turned to leave, apparently unmoved by the final farewell to all that had been mortal in him. None had shed a tear nor whispered a word of sorrow to indicate that

their departed fellow would be missed. The dead man's nearest neighbor had uttered the only words my friend had overheard. As he looked toward the muddy highway, hesitant to start the homeward journey, he had sighed, and remarked with resignation:

"Ho-hum-m-m! It'll be a long ride on those bad roads."

When the embryo minister finished his recital of this incident, he asked me: "Why can't you psychologists develop some guides for people so that we will not have to wait for the Reaper to find out whether we are liked?"

Millions of people would be glad to find an answer to a question very similar to this student's: "How can we find out how to make people like us?" Those who do find out are the popular and usually the successful members of their communities. Those who don't may lead most unhappy lives from causes which they would willingly remove if they realized that those causes existed.

The sort of grief brought on by the death of a friend or relative is a crucial test of how well we really liked him. A modicum of sadness is inevitable, since old habits which centered around the familiar one are upset by his absence. But real grief, inspired by the feeling of a genuine emotional loss, is a very different experience.

We often do not realize, as long as they remain near us, how superficial is our liking for some of our "friends". Nor do we understand why it is that we feel

an uncontrollable, conscious dislike for certain other people, even upon the slightest acquaintance.

Why do people who have never seen nor heard Will Rogers like him? Why do most men dislike Adolphe Menjou merely from watching him on the screen? Why is a self-made man like Calvin Coolidge, or Al Smith, almost always popular with American voters, regardless of differences in other traits of personality?

Why do half the people of the world dislike the other half?

What happens to some very likeable small boys around twelve years of age which destroys our liking for them?

The answers to such questions reveal some of man's deepest and most seldom pictured psychological forces. They help one to understand better not only others but himself.

The adequately trained observer does not need such painful events as death or separation to learn these answers. A vast amount of psychological research carried on in recent years has now added scientific findings to the rules-of-thumb always practised by those people who have learned by personal experience how to make friends with special facility. From this extensive research emerge a number of concepts which are as interesting as they are instructive.

Shattered self-ideals

We like people who buoy up our self-esteem. This may indicate, in a sense, a basic selfishness in human

nature, but on second reflection it shows the faith and confidence most people have in themselves—a highly valuable trait. They like other persons who do not shatter that self-ideal. Like likes like!

Most men dislike Adolphe Menjou, the sophisticated and romantic, simply because he has a demeanor and attractiveness far beyond that achieved by their idealization of themselves. For the same reason the gentler sex entertains little affection for Billie Dove. Chester Conklin and Louise Fazenda are almost universally liked because they portray parts which do not shatter anyone's self-idealization. We can watch them without being reminded of our own weaknesses and shortcomings.

Seldom do we genuinely like those with a bigger income or a more responsible position than our own, although we may admire and respect them. If we do like them, it is in spite of their greater accomplishments, and because they retain in unusual measure the qualities of obvious naturalness, cheerfulness, and apparent ability to understand us and sympathize with our viewpoints and our problems. As soon as the rich man or the powerful man loses these traits he ceases to bolster up our self-esteem and we lose our liking for him. It is much easier for the ordinary man to make himself liked.

Like likes like. We like people who like us. That is one of the rewards of sympathizing with others and understanding their viewpoint.

We like people who let us talk, or even encourage us to talk more. Their interested attention to what we say supports our self-esteem. By not arguing with us they

enhance our self-regard still further and make themselves still better liked. They are extending sympathetic understanding in one of its most subtle forms.

We like people who do not try to reform us. As soon as they try to get us to stop smoking, or to wear different clothes, or to worship at their church, they begin to undermine our self-ideal, and our liking for them is shattered together with it. The militant anarchist and the crusading reformer are liked only by others of their ilk. Those who can understand the weaknesses and failings of mankind without trying to improve the race are liked. Reforming has to be its own reward.

Everyone knows of commonplace incidents, usually referred to as "tactless behavior", which illustrate this important fact. I recall a typical story of an early experience of a now-famous American authoress. Some years ago, when she was just beginning to arrive, she was invited to many fashionable affairs in New York City. One sympathetic society matron took the young writer under her wing to guard against her making too many blunders. One afternoon while they were ascending the steps of an old brown stone front mansion to attend a tea the writer noticed that the guest just above them had a hook loosened on her shirtwaist—it was that long ago. To her matronly mentor she said:

"She will be embarrassed if someone does not tell her about that. I will tell her."

"No, no!" warned the matron. "When you tell people something unpleasant they take a dislike to you. Anyway, that is not the worst," she added. "Her heels are terribly run over, too."

"I don't care," replied the younger woman, "I am going to tell her." And quickening her step to catch up with Mrs. Vanderastor, she suited the action to the word.

Humiliating as this must have been, it is psychologically little worse than the smallest of the suggestions for personal reforms which people of little tact are apt to make so frequently to those about them. Every such suggestion or attempt at reform implies the insinuation "Your self-ideal is pretty wretched." No wonder that attitude is almost universally resented.

Feeling important

We like people who help us feel important. Every one of us has mingled in his self-ideal an impression of personal importance. We like the movie theatre which trains its ushers and doormen to flatter our self-importance by their extreme deference to us as paying guests. We like stores that require their clerks to address us as "Sir" or "Madam" when we are making purchases. We like the person who refers to us in public as Mr. Blank rather than by a personal nickname.

An abortive kind of liking for some people is based upon this impression of personal importance. Usually we do not like outstandingly successful people, because their success deflates our own ego, but we do like to be seen with them occasionally, or to be able to say, "Successful Mr. So-and-so told me such and such." This is not an encouraging mental sign. One's personal importance should be based on what he accomplishes him-

self, not upon any such reflected glory. Unfortunately, cases of this eagerness to acquire a sham importance are all too common.

Recently the curtain lifted on some life secrets of Theodore Roberts, the grand old man of the stage and movies. Among other things he wrote, "In my experience I remember neither affection or sympathy from any member of my family until such accomplishment had been achieved by me that affection became a part of pride in relationship."

The most popular dining car conductor on the New Haven Railroad is F. P. Dunn. Once a passenger has eaten in his car and Mr. Dunn has ferreted out the passenger's name he never forgets it. After an interval of a year he will recall a patron's name on sight and address him by it. "Why, Mr. Green," he can say, "it has been a long time since you traveled this way last." And Mr. Green at once feels his importance increase. No wonder Conductor Dunn is widely liked.

We like cheerful people. They do not make us feel more important, to be sure, but they do make us feel happier. We crave pleasant experiences. Charlie Chaplin has kept the sympathies of the public through all his troubles because he has made all of us feel happier time and time again. Al Smith has a million votes in cheer on his face. Will Rogers' grin salves the most cutting of his wise cracks.

We like people who cheer us up by showing us the silver lining behind the clouds. The clown has a better chance of being elected mayor, or president, than the reformer, because there is a greater demand for sugar

than for vinegar. Eddie Cantor is more likely to be president than H. L. Mencken. Sister Sorrowful, always carrying bad news from neighbor to neighbor, is missed when she goes to her eternal rest only if the roads are muddy.

We like children because of their cheerfulness, their happiness, and their naturalness. They are unsophisticated, unpretentious, and unaffected. They are free of care and usually of self-consciousness. We like natural people. Self-conscious people are seldom natural, and Dr. Lawson G. Lowery has data which indicate that about 80% of adults are self-conscious!

Somewhere around the age of twelve most boys and girls begin to get self-conscious. They become "fresh", develop a fondness for "showing off", and begin to express original and disturbing beliefs. They have lost much of their innocent naturalness. As a result they are usually liked less than before. A few people never do grow out of the self-consciousness of age twelve. Such people are never popular. Affected people are not spontaneous and natural. We like the natural.

A few years ago I was taking a group of students through the State Hospital for mental patients at Elgin, Illinois. One motherly, middle-aged patient whom I had never seen before was brought in before the group. Every member of the class was immediately attracted to her. On a slip of paper I wrote a diagnosis of her disorder and passed it to Dr. Grant, who nodded that I was right. How did I know after just a moment of observation? Because there is just one form of personality disorder that is characterized by a naturalness and

spontaneity which win friends at first sight. This is the manic-depressive psychosis. (Fortunately for the peace of mind of those of us who are sane, in practically 95% of mental cases exactly the opposite tendency prevails.)

Among outstandingly successful Americans, "Charlie" Schwab is unusually well liked. His popularity was gained by this priceless quality of naturalness. One of the many incidents that are told of him occurred while he was inspecting one of the steel plants. In a dark corner he came upon an old Irishman who had taken a fat sandwich from his lunch kit, some time in advance of the lunch period, and had secluded himself in a corner to munch it.

"What are you doing here?" Schwab inquired.

"And who are ye, that I should be telling ye?" the Irishman countered.

"Nobody, just the president of the company," was Schwab's reply.

"Faith and I think ye have a fine job for a young feller," retorted the luncher, unabashed. "Ye better run along now and tend to it."

And Schwab did so, perfectly naturally, where most of us would have felt justified in getting on our high horse.

What price education?

Just as we like people who do not flaunt their possessions in our faces, and thereby deflate our ego, so we like people who do not parade their greater learning or education. College graduation becomes a handicap if the

graduate lacks the saving grace of modesty and naturalness. Many graduates, suffering from that lack, find their contacts largely limited to other college graduates. The village ignoramus is more likely to be missed than the human encyclopedia. This is one way in which a little knowledge becomes dangerous. Knowledge must be handled with wisdom.

Although we like cheerful people, we do not necessarily like jokers. We sense that some time the joke may be at our expense, with a resultant tumble for our self-esteem. A certain college president in the Mississippi Valley is a case in point. Except for his position of authority and his clever humor, he has qualities which should make him the most popular person in a dozen states. He has a memory for names better even than that of Conductor Dunn. He can convulse a small group with humorous comments on the writings or courses of other professors. He is original and clever in his wit and gets a laugh that is more than merely polite. But each auditor thinks "Perhaps the next time he will hold up to his clever ridicule something I have done or said." Thus this gifted man is the object of cordial dislike, or at least of fear disguised as dislike. Humor at the expense of other individuals is a two-edged sword.

In spite of the fact that we all like to hear gossip about others, we like people who do not gossip. Just as we fear that the joker's humor may be turned against us another day, we fear that the gossip's tongue may mention our name next. "The gossip's grave" is a commonplace phrase that acknowledges the resentment of the possible deflation of our own self-idealization. It is

a grave at which the mourners think only of muddy roads.

It often happens, unfortunately, that people who are really very likeable in their normal surroundings are forced by circumstances into situations which create dislike for them. I recently learned of one pitiful case of this sort which came to my attention through the nervous breakdown of the woman concerned. She had grown up in a small Ohio village, which she had left, after graduating from the local high school, to earn a living in New York as a typist. She later became a private secretary, and finally married the president of a small business concern. For a dozen years they lived happily in an exclusive Westchester suburb.

When her husband was about fifty years of age he sold his business interests and they retired to live, very comfortably, on their income. They had looked forward for years to spending their declining years in the wife's old home town. All through their married life they had paid the town an annual visit, and everyone there had been glad to see her. Now they moved their home there, buying and remodeling the best house in town.

But consider what happened when the village became her permanent home again. She was a woman who had always possessed a queenly bearing and great ability. She and her husband were wealthier than anyone else in town. Only one result could be predicted. It soon became apparent that the old friendly neighbors had developed a dislike for her. They could not bear her unintentional deflation of their own self-ideals. Through no fault of hers, she saw the goal for which she had

worked for years turned into a bitter trial. The keenness of her disappointment eventually helped to shatter her mental balance.

Possessions, like authority, are dangerous to display. Unless kept well concealed, they may lose for us our most valuable possession of all, our friends. Keeping up with the Jonses may be all right, but don't try to get ahead of them!

CHAPTER II

WHY WE LIKE SOME PEOPLE AND DON'T LIKE OTHERS

WHAT can one do to make certain that he is not being handicapped in his progress through life by unwittingly making himself disliked? How can one tell whether or not he is disliked without going to the embarrassment of asking his friends and associates? What can one do to control his own conduct and attitudes so that he will be better liked?

These are all practical questions of the greatest personal importance. And until recently no definite answers could be given to them.

To find the answers to these questions and other similar ones the Colgate Psychological Laboratory undertook experimental work in which the relative significance of nearly one hundred traits and habits, in their effect on personal likes and dislikes, was accurately measured. Only traits and habits which we can reasonably expect to be able to alter for the better by an application of good old-fashioned will-power and self-development were studied.

This experimental work was completed in the spring of 1929. It produced evidence that some forty-six traits are of definite importance in determining the emotional attitude of other people toward us. About the same

number of other traits, in spite of their apparently important nature, were found to have no appreciable influence, either favorable or unfavorable.

These traits make little difference

You can dress as flashily as Mayor Jimmy Walker or Glenn Frank, or as conservatively as Herbert Hoover or Calvin Coolidge. It will make no difference to your acquaintances. They will continue to like or dislike you just the same. What does make a difference is whether you keep your clothing neat and tidy—but that is getting ahead of our story.

It makes no difference in your popularity whether you are always easy-going or always in a hurry. You can be a go-getter, a prodigious worker, or relatively leisurely, calm and unperturbed. But don't be lazy. As we shall see later, laziness makes a difference.

You can discuss your health in detail. You can sit down and enlarge upon your operations or your stomach-ache without incurring dislike. This is undoubtedly fortunate, since probably one-quarter of the world likes nothing better than to brag of its operations and other physical ailments.

We had expected to find that this talking about personal ailments showed up as a significant trait. It happens that personally I dislike to listen to other people's pains. It bores me to profanity. That must be because I am rather a Pollyanna and like to see the pleasant side of things. At any rate the results showed that

that dislike was just an individual peculiarity of my own.

It does not matter whether you watch the pennies closely or not. Tight wads and spendthrifts share equally in friends.

You can argue pro or con on prohibition, or not express any opinions on it.

You can argue on either side of religious questions.

You can call casual acquaintances by their first names or by their nicknames.

You can swear only under emotional strain, or swear as habitually as you like.

You can play practical jokes.

None of these things affects the feelings of other people in general toward you.

Your voice can be musical or rasping. That is another trait which I was surprised to find of no significance. I find myself taking a marked dislike to the voices of some people, but to the average person voices make no difference. It does not matter whether a voice is high pitched or low pitched. But there are some things about the voice that are important, as will be apparent soon.

You can giggle and laugh at everything.

You can use big words. You can use slang. You can talk on intelligent topics. You can have an accent in your speech. You can use foreign phrases. You can indulge a weakness for pet phrases, such as "I should say so" or "O.K." None of these habits will have any noticeable effect.

You can pause and hem habitually in the midst of conversations, in search of the right word.

You can make puns.

You can pull on the coat lapels of your auditor, or even put your arm around his shoulder.

All these things, *in general,* may be done with safety. It may be, however, that the key man on whom your chance for promotion depends is one who, like myself, dislikes people who talk about their personal troubles, or who have rasping voices. If the liking of some one individual is especially important to your happiness or your advancement, it is hardly safe to go by any general rules. That individual's tastes are worth a special study.

Watch these traits closely

Now for the more important traits, the ones which definitely make most people like us. In order of their importance we have given these positive traits a weight that varies from one to three. The first nine in the list below all have a weight of three.

Be depended upon to do what you say you will. This trait alone may not make people like you, if you have others in large numbers which offset it, but it is one which you can gamble on. It affects not only your responsibility to your superior, but your relations to practically every person with whom you come in even casual contact. No good executive can afford to overlook the lack of this one trait in his subordinate.

Go out of your way to help others.

Do not show off your knowledge. Yet the poor college professor is hired to show off what he knows. The teacher or parent or executive is apt to be disliked,

from the very nature of the tasks he is called upon to perform. Those who want to be liked must try to gain favor by other traits. They must, for instance, possess the two just described above.

Do not let yourself feel superior to your associates, and be careful lest they get the impression that you do. One of the most brilliant young men I know, although unconscious of his brilliance, is much disliked. His trouble is largely the fact that his intellectual curiosity and his knowledge lead him into discussions of all sorts. He has no desire to show off, to exhibit superiority, but that is the impression which others get, and it counts against him. It is probably difficult to be brilliant and still be liked.

Do not reprimand people who do things that displease you. The woman in the small town who wants to boss everybody and manage everything is almost universally disliked. She is probably doing more good for the town than anyone else, but that doesn't have any weight with the neighbors. She has to pay the penalty of being personally hated. It would seem that a "bossy" woman is almost always hated by everybody. It may be that women are more bossy than men. At any rate, men appear to be able to manage other people with less danger of arousing dislike.

Do not exaggerate in your statements. In spite of the commonness of the habit of telling tall stories, and its apparent innocuousness in most cases, this is one of the traits which was found to be most important as a ground for dislike. We did not go far enough to make sure whether merely telling good fish stories would lose

a sportsman friends, but a chronic habit of overstatement certainly will.

Do not make fun of others behind their backs. Here is a case in point. I know the general manager of a certain company, a man in some ways very clever in social matters. His company dominates the small town in which it is located. When he came there they almost had the brass band out to welcome him. Six months later he could hardly have found a townsman to give him a lift down the road without a scowl.

This man is tremendously capable. What got him into trouble was nothing that he did on the job. It was what he did after office hours. Out on the local nine-hole golf course, in the post-office while waiting for the evening mail, or to entertain guests in his own home, he would tell embarrassingly funny things that had happened to fellow townsmen, or would imitate in hilarious fashion a fellow golfer's manner of making a shot. Good entertainment—but it left everyone feeling a little afraid that "tomorrow he may be making fun of me".

Do not be sarcastic. This habit probably operates on the mental reactions of others in very much the same way as the habit of making fun of other people.

Do not be domineering. A tendency to do this may be one reason for the unpopularity of women as bosses.

This completes the list of the traits to which I have given a value of 3. These alone give us already a pretty fair picture of human likes and dislikes and their reasons. People in general dislike exaggeration, dislike undependability, dislike the man who will not go out of

his way to help others. These broader traits they feel very strongly. The underlying moral code indicated by the nature of these dislikes is definitely a good one. Needless to say, it is a code which lies much deeper than such surface manifestations as minor weaknesses for liquor, for gambling, for shady stories, and the like. In themselves those have no effect on the emotions of other people toward us.

Before we go on with the traits that have a weight of 2, it would be well to give some explanation of the psychological theories that emerge, so that the remaining traits can be viewed in relation to them. It appears from our data and discussions with individuals who have contributed to the work that in general we dislike people for one of three reasons. We may dislike them because we are afraid of them. They are sarcastic, or they are likely to make fun of us to our backs. We may dislike them because they deflate our ego. They boss us, they are domineering, they know more than we know, or in some way make us feel smaller. I do not like to say, as some persons do, that they irritate our inferiority, or give us an inferiority complex. I prefer the more simple direct statement that they deflate our ego. Again, we may dislike them because they do petty things of one kind or another that annoy us. The traits with a value of 3 and 2 bear the closest relation to deflating our ego or making us afraid. Conversely, the affirmative traits of equal values are those which bring happiness and emotional exhilaration to those with whom their possessors come in contact. The

traits of minor importance, those with a value of only 1, have more to do with annoyance.

Here are the traits with a value of 2.

Keep your clothing neat and tidy. Cleanliness is still next to the greatest virtues. It is liked almost as well as dependability and helpfulness.

Do not be bold and nervy. One should have self-confidence, of course, but should not have too much "brass" or the reputation for having it. The house-to-house salesman is not a popular character. Unfortunately work as canvassers selling magazines, vacuum cleaners, floor brushes, etc., is often recommended as good summertime experience for college students. To my mind the experience such an occupation gives in developing boldness is not a good thing for them.

Do not laugh at the mistakes of others. Never laugh at a man because he comes to a social function in a queer costume, or uses the wrong fork at table, or appears on the street with his shirt tail hanging out. Get your laugh from the movies, the vaudeville act, or the pages of Judge or Life. Don't take it out on other people in real life.

Do not take a vulgar attitude toward the opposite sex. Although most people do not object to shady stories, they do object by and large to a generally vulgar attitude toward the opposite sex.

Do not be inclined to find fault with everybody else. Like a good many of the other traits which promote dislike, this one tends to increase a little with age, especially with extreme age. This accentuation of disagreeable traits with advancing age explains why young

people think old people are harder to get along with.

Do not correct the mistakes of others. Don't try to serve as a grammar or a book of etiquette for your friends. They don't like to have someone else point out to them that they have said "don't" when they should have said "doesn't", or have shaken hands when they should merely have bowed. If they want to get criticism, they are perfectly capable of asking for it, or learning their errors from an authoritative book. It doesn't pay to give gratuitous advice of that kind.

Do not tell jokes at the expense of those listening. Very similar to but not the same as the trait of making fun of people behind their backs. The toastmaster is probably weakening friendships as he cracks jokes at the expense of the speakers whom he is introducing to his audience. Most experienced speakers dislike this habit and say it handicaps them in making their talk. It has put the audience in an unfavorable mental attitude, for the speaker comes before them in a ridiculous light which he must first overcome before gaining their sympathetic attention. That may explain why after-dinner speeches are usually regarded as a necessary evil.

Do not try to have your own way. This is not the same as domineering! If your superior tells you to do such and such a thing in a certain way, don't insist on going ahead doing it the same old way you always did just out of obstinacy.

Do not lose your temper.

Do not take the initiative in argument.

Smile pleasantly, although it is doubtful if smiling

while you are insisting on having your own way can entirely offset the effect of your obstinacy.

Do not talk continuously. Mark Twain said to Helen Keller, "The reason I like you, Helen, is because you do not talk much." Mark himself preferred to do all the talking. It does not matter whether your voice is high-pitched or low-pitched, rasping or musical, whether you use pet phrases, foreign phrases, or slang. These habits are all neutral in effect, but continuous talking is not. This handicap seems to be more common among women as a sex than men, yet we have found in some experiments that, contrary to general impressions, young men talk more than young women. Moreover, the young women do not like this trait in their masculine acquaintances. Presumably this relative talkativeness between the sexes is reversed by the time the women have settled down to raising a family and joining the Ladies' Aid.

Do not pry into other people's business. There are plenty of lawyers whose business is to do that. They know a good deal about everybody's affairs. That is probably one reason why even when they possess the most pleasing personalities, lawyers are generally feared. And the fear may be easily developed into dislike.

The following traits have a value of 1:

Do not keep your end of the conversation up by asking questions. While people like to hear themselves talk, apparently they do not like to be egged on to talk by third degree methods. The person who, after you have finished recounting an experience or telling a

story, says "What did you do next?" is not increasing his popularity. Day by day in every way he is getting more unpopular.

Do not ask favors of others.

Do not be out of patience with modern ideas.

Do not be flattering.

Do not talk about your personal troubles. You can talk about your health, but do not discuss your other troubles, such as your financial reverses, your family quarrels, or the mean things other people have done to you.

Do not spread gossip. Gossips are not popular even among their own kind.

Do not be dignified.

Be cheerful.

Be enthusiastic, not lethargic.

Do not mispronounce words. James M. Barrie once used this characteristic, in his play "A Kiss for Cinderella," as a clever trick to build up dislike for one of the characters, the policeman who continually made mistakes in pronunciation.

Do not be suspicious that people are trying to put something over on you.

Do not be lazy. You can be a high pressure worker or an easy going one without any visible effect on your popularity, but if you are lazy you will be disliked for it. The older generation suffer on this count, for they have reached the stage in which rheumatism, arteries, joints and muscles begin to call for a life of ease and retirement!

Do not borrow things.

Do not tell people what their moral duty is.

Do not correct the mistakes of others.

Do not tell people what is right and wrong. Do not give moral lectures.

Do not try to get people to believe as you believe. This habit is similar to that of taking the initiative in argument.

Do not be a political radical.

Do not talk rapidly. Talking continuously has a value of 2, talking rapidly has a value of 1.

Do not laugh loudly.

Like if you want to be liked

In one phase of our experiment we asked the subjects to write down as fast as they could the initials of all the people they could think of whom they disliked intensely. At the end of a half-minute we stopped them. In that half-minute some had been able to think of only one person for whom they felt intense dislike. Others thought of as many as 14. Some thought of those they disliked as rapidly as they could write down initials.

This test showed that those who expressed their dislike for the largest number of persons were the very individuals who themselves possessed the largest number of generally disliked traits. This makes us feel safe in stating in a general way that if you dislike many people you probably are in turn disliked by many people. And by the same token if you like many people you are probably liked by many.

I think this is one reason why David Harum is a very popular fictional character. Even his little wise cracks, though they had a little bitterness in them at times, seem to contain that fundamental liking for the people around him. The same genial liking for people goes a long way to explain Will Rogers' phenominal popularity.

How one person changed himself

It is plain from our investigation that one can very radically modify these undesirable traits. Here is an actual illustration. A certain boy turned out by his own rating to have the worst score in the collection. Now it happened that this boy possessed, in spite of that, numerous advantages and talents which would seem to make it comparatively easy for him to be liked. He had wealth and social accomplishments, dressed well, played the piano like a wizard, and was good as an amateur in several popular forms of athletics. All to no avail. By the admission of all the other students in the group who knew him, as well as by his own description of himself, he was shown to be the most disliked.

For sixteen months he had been in close contact with a group of about fifteen boys of his own age. For sixteen months, in the manner of boys, they had been telling him that he was "all wet", and that he was "a pain in the neck". He knew well enough that he was disliked, but he honestly did not know why. The analysis which he made for himself in ten minutes in the

laboratory pointed out definite traits as the reasons why he was disliked. Thus, in place of a vague realization of his misfortune he secured a diagram of the weak points which were to blame and which he knew he must correct.

Two weeks after this boy had made his self-analysis, one of the others of his group was working for me for a few hours. In the course of conversation, he remarked, "Say, what did you do to Smithers? We have razzed him and been after him continually for almost two years now, and here something happened up in the laboratory—I don't know what, whether it was a serum or an injection of horse sense, but he is a changed fellow. We are beginning to like him immensely."

One of the traits of this boy had been showing off his knowledge. He never spoke of salt except as sodium chloride, partly in fun but also with an underlying desire of displaying his learning. Another trait was the habit of trying to get others to do things for him. He had the reputation of buying one package of cigarettes a month and smoking two packages a day. The analysis had pointed out traits like these which even the boys who disliked him did not realize were the cause of their dislike.

Nearly all of the traits we have listed in this chapter can be changed quite readily and simply. Such traits as physical awkwardness, which may be caused by conditions not under the control of the will, were discussed but not included in our tests. We have studied just common traits that the average individual is very likely to take for granted, not realizing the important bearing

they have on relationships with other people. These traits may keep a man out of a job, lose him opportunities for promotion, or make him very lonesome during his idle hours, all because people are afraid of him, because he deflates their ego, or because they find him annoying.

Lincoln said, "The Lord must have loved the common people, because he made so many more of them than any other kind." The surest way to be popular is to be a common person. A man who is uncommon, who is brilliant, critical, endowed with superior intellect, is ipso facto building up dislike for himself among all those who are not like himself. He deflates the ego of the common people and is feared by them.

You can overcome the handicap of uncommonness only by extraordinary service of some kind, by deliberately going out of your way to help others. Note the change in late years of public opinion toward John D. Rockefeller, Sr. In earlier days he was disliked, if not actually hated, as a predatory Midas. By many years of public service as a philanthropist he has gradually converted that unfavorable opinion to a favorable one. The public has slowly come to realize that he is a public-spirited citizen who goes out of his way to help others on a scale unprecedented in the history of the world. The average man's attitude toward him has swung about completely.

In the traits we have enumerated the average man holds the key to the attitude toward him of his fellow average men.

Traits Which Make Us Liked

Give yourself a score of 3 for each of these questions you can answer "Yes":

1. Can you always be depended upon to do what you say you will?
2. Do you go out of your way cheerfully to help others?
3. Do you avoid exaggeration in all your statements?
4. Do you avoid being sarcastic?
5. Do you refrain from showing off how much you know?
6. Do you feel inferior to most of your associates?
7. Do you refrain from bossing people not employed by you?
8. Do you keep from reprimanding people who do things that displease you?
9. Do you avoid making fun of others behind their backs?
10. Do you keep from domineering others?

Give yourself a score of 2 for each of these questions you can answer "Yes":

11. Do you keep your clothing neat and tidy?
12. Do you avoid being bold and nervy?
13. Do you avoid laughing at the mistakes of others?
14. Is your attitude toward the opposite sex free from vulgarity?
15. Do you avoid finding fault with everyday things?
16. Do you let the mistakes of others pass without correcting them?
17. Do you loan things to others readily?
18. Are you careful not to tell jokes that will embarrass those listening?
19. Do you let others have their own way?
20. Do you always control your temper?

21. Do you keep out of arguments?
22. Do you smile pleasantly?
23. Do you avoid talking almost continuously?
24. Do you keep you nose entirely out of other people's business?

Give yourself a score of 1 for each of these questions you can answer "Yes":

25. Do you have patience with modern ideas?
26. Do you avoid flattering others?
27. Do you avoid gossiping?
28. Do you refrain from asking people to repeat what they have just said?
29. Do you avoid asking questions in keeping up a conversation?
30. Do you avoid asking favors of others?
31. Do you avoid trying to reform others?
32. Do you keep your personal troubles to yourself?
33. Are you natural rather than dignified?
34. Are you usually cheerful?
35. Are you conservative in politics?
36. Are you enthusiastic rather than lethargic?
37. Do you pronounce words correctly?
38. Do you look upon others without suspicion?
39. Do you avoid being lazy?
40. Do you avoid borrowing things?
41. Do you refrain from telling people their moral duty?
42. Do you avoid trying to convert people to your beliefs?
43. Do you avoid talking rapidly?
44. Do you avoid laughing loudly?
45. Do you avoid making fun of people to their faces?

The higher your score by this self-analysis the better liked you are in general. Each "No" answer should be

changed through self-guidance into a "Yes" answer. The highest possible score is 81. About 10% of people have this score. The lowest score made by a person who was generally liked was 56. The average young person has a score of 64. The average score of a person who is generally disliked is 30. The lowest score we found was 12. It is encouraging to note that the average young person has a score closer to that of the average liked person than to that of the average disliked person.

CHAPTER III

BASIC TYPES OF PERSONALITY—INTROVERT AND EXTROVERT

WHAT a fascinating study are the individualities of great public figures! Outstanding characters of our own day in many fields—Wilson, Clemenceau, Mussolini, Ford, Einstein, Eleonora Duse, Queen Marie of Rumania. The undying faces of centuries past—Lincoln, Napoleon, Cromwell, Dr. Johnson, Robespierre, Richard Coeur de Lion, Joan of Arc, St. Francis, Cleopatra, Alexander. One could name them endlessly.

Each of these great ones is a distinct personality, admirably suited to the particular niche in history which he or she has occupied. They have just one great point in common. All have utilized their forces of personality with outstanding success. And these forces are the same which, in lesser degree, we all have at our command. By studying the great figures of history we can learn more about ourselves. By studying our neighbors, whose environment is similar to our own, we can learn still more.

We are all readers of character, and that means primarily readers of personality. We read the faces of passers-by out of mere curiosity, and try to imagine what they are like. We observe the habits of mind

of our acquaintances from various motives—self-defence, the desire to obtain something from them, to win their friendship, or simply to get along with them as smoothly as possible. We study with care the likes and dislikes, the nervous make-up and weaknesses, of our intimates, that we may gain a sympathetic insight into their emotional needs and thus make our friendships enjoyable and mutually beneficial.

Some of us are much more expert than others as analysts of personality, but nearly all of us become continually more skilled as we grow older. We learn from experience to associate one trait with another, and to some extent to associate certain physical characteristics with personality traits which we believe have some relation to them. We learn roughly to classify individuals by certain prominent qualities which we are fairly sure will be accompanied by other related qualities. Most people are ready to assume, for instance, that a "good mixer" is unlikely to be a good manager in financial matters, that an impassioned lover will probably turn out a poor provider, that a crack athlete has slight chance of being a brilliant scholar. These contrasted proficiencies have their source in different traits which are not commonly found together in the same individual.

It is axiomatic that no two persons have exactly the same traits of personality, any more than they have exactly the same physical features. If we did not all possess unique individualities this would be a dull world indeed. Yet the broad classifications to which

we have just referred are recognizable by anyone, however untrained in psychological science.

On their moderate side these differing types merge in the hypothetical "average man". On their extreme side they may become accentuated to the limits of insanity. The extreme cases are of course the simplest ones for study. The conclusions drawn from them can then as a rule be used in the study of the more normal and complex personalities.

Some of the most satisfactory and promising knowledge about some rather large sectors of human personality has been gained by the study of extremely developed, potentially abnormal cases. It was discovered that these extreme personalities are in most instances merely an intensive development of the slight personality differences which any observant person readily notes among his perfectly normal friends and acquaintances.

One medical specialist in exaggerated personalities, Dr. Carl G. Jung of Zurich, noticed about a quarter of a century ago that they fell into two rather basic groups. In one group the emotional life seemed to be restrained, dampened. In varying degrees they were inclined to live their emotions within their own thoughts. The other large group expressed their emotions in action, in association with others. The first group brooded over their emotions, the second did not stop to think them over.

Dr. Jung called the first of these two groups "introverts", the other "extroverts".

These same classifications have proven of great value

since in the study of normal personalities, which are denominated introvert or extrovert to indicate a marked preponderance of traits tending toward one or the other of the extreme types originally designated by these names.

Broadly speaking, the thinkers and day-dreamers are introverts, the doers are extroverts. The individual who is sensitive, fond of argument, outspokenly frank, painstaking, conscientious, dignified, interested in books, ill at ease at social affairs, happy working alone, is exhibiting outstanding traits of the introvert. The individual who possesses contrary traits tends to be an extrovert, for these personality aggregates, theoretically considered, are diametrically opposed one to the other. Famous representatives of the two types are President Wilson and President Theodore Roosevelt.

The extremes of these types are possibly what William James had in mind when he wrote about tender and tough minded individuals.

The great bulk of the population has an admixture of the traits of both introvert and extrovert. An American psychologist, Edmund S. Conklin, who discovered the importance of this great middle group, gave them the name of "ambiverts".

In our laboratory work at Colgate we have clung closely, for several reasons, to the personality classification just described. For one thing it has not been spoiled for research activities by an ethical atmosphere, as many characterological classifications have been. Psychiatric and psychoanalytic experience also seem to indicate that this personality grouping is founded upon

basic emotional trends. In endeavors of this sort it is always important to avoid the danger of studying traits which are only transient and superficial.

The biological normality of everyday extremes of introversion or extroversion is indicated by the normal distribution curves which are readily obtained, showing the degree to which individuals possess the group of traits making up one of these personality aggregates. In our work we have fallen into the habit of calling extroverts those who show more extrovert traits than are shown by three-quarters of the population. Conversely, those showing more introvert traits than are found in three-quarters of the population are dubbed introverts. The multitude of in-betweens are called ambiverts. A scale of behavior traits of introversion-extroversion was developed in the Colgate laboratory five years ago, and with later refinements has been the basis of the experiments from which much of the material in this book was drawn.

Everyone both introvert and extrovert

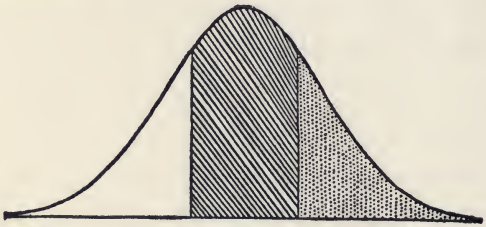
Introvert and extrovert traits are found together in everyone. The only possible exceptions are cases of mental disorder sometimes encountered in state hospitals. A patient with dementia praecox may disclose no extrovert signs, and a maniac depressive may be entirely extrovert. All normal personalities are a mixture of traits, some individuals possessing a preponderance of extrovert traits, others a preponderance of introvert traits. It is not the marked possession of

one or two traits but the ratio on all traits which gives the clue to the appropriate label for the individual's personality.

Thus it is evident that the introvert and extrovert conditions are not distinct but blend together. The unwarranted use of the terms would indicate that we would find the general population divided into two distinct groups, as shown below:

Extrovert Introvert

What is actually found is the bell-shaped normal distribution below:



Extrovert Ambivert Introvert

This means that introversion converges gradually into extroversion. Most people are in the ambivert zone, the great converging zone shown by the highest part of the chart above.

How to recognize the introvert and extrovert types

We have said that introverts live their emotions

largely within their own thoughts, while extroverts express their emotions in action. To understand this distinction properly, the reader without psychological training must broaden his conception of emotion to embrace much more moderate forms of expression than tantrums of ill-temper and spells of crying. These are extreme expressions of emotion, usually short-lived, and usually caused by some external stimulation.

In place of having a violent outburst of temper, a person may for a period of several days, or even several weeks, remain irritable and easily annoyed. This is likewise an emotional expression, although the external cause of it is not patent. Or he may have a period of blues for a day, or a week, instead of a fifteen-minute crying spell. The emotional content is apparently less in the period of blues than in the crying spell, but its presence indicates the proper classification of the individual's behavior.

When the emotional content in behavior is still weaker and lasts still longer, we have what used to be called "temperaments". Some people are perpetually irritable, others are perpetually melancholy. It is these emotional elements which provide the principal background for the expression and the development of personality. There is continual emotion in every individual's life. Some express it directly and forcefully in tantrums. Some express it indirectly and mildly in symptomatic ways. These indirect expressions, in accentuated form, are under study in the introvert and extrovert extremes.

There are numerous signs, both in the actions and

in the habits of thought of any person, which give a ready clue to the tendency either toward introvert or toward extrovert personality.

Signs which are revealed in actions are the following:

1. The introvert blushes easily; the extrovert rarely.
2. The extrovert laughs more readily than the introvert.
3. The introvert is usually outspoken; the extrovert is usually careful not to hurt the feelings of others.
4. The extrovert is a fluent talker; the introvert can prepare a report in writing more easily than he can give it in conversation.
5. The extrovert loans money and possessions more readily than the introvert.
6. The extrovert moves faster than the introvert in the routine actions of the day, such as walking, dressing, and talking.
7. The extrovert does not take any great care of his personal property, such as clothing, jewelry, etc.; the introvert is continually oiling, polishing and tinkering.
8. The introvert is usually reluctant about making friends with the opposite sex, while the extrovert is attracted by them.
9. The introvert is easily embarrassed at having to appear before a crowd.
10. The extrovert is a more natural public speaker.
11. The introvert likes to argue.
12. The introvert is slow to make friends.
13. The introvert re-writes his letters, inserts interlineations, adds post-scripts, corrects every mistake of the typist.

Personality signs which are revealed in attitudes and habits of mind are the following:

1. The introvert worries; the extrovert has scarcely a care in the world.

2. The feelings of the introvert are easily hurt; the extrovert is not bothered by what others say about him.

3. The introvert deliberates in great detail about everything—what to wear, where to eat, etc. Then he usually explains why he decided to do what he did.

4. The introvert rebels when given an order; the extrovert accepts orders as a matter of course.

5. The introvert is urged to his best efforts by praise; the extrovert is not affected by it.

6. The introvert is suspicious of the motives of others.

7. The introvert is usually radical in religion and politics; the extrovert—if he entertains any opinions—is usually conservative.

8. The introvert would rather struggle alone to solve a problem than ask for help.

9. The introvert would rather work alone than in the same room with others.

10. The extrovert follows athletics; the introvert, books and "high brow" magazines.

11. The introvert is a poor loser.

12. The introvert day-dreams a great deal.

13. The introvert prefers fine, delicate work (die-making, accounting), while the extrovert prefers work in which details do not matter.

14. The introvert is inclined to be moody at times.

15. The introvert is very conscientious.

At the close of this chapter is reproduced a series of questions which was developed to determine the tendency of an individual toward introversion or extroversion. The reader can easily test himself with it. A

word of caution is necessary to those who use this test. The essential question is not whether you are introvert or extrovert. The more important things are the answers to the questions on each trait. It is these specific answers which should be taken seriously in any effort to adjust yourself better to your daily tasks and associates.

Recent research in several laboratories upon the relationship between the individual's physique and personality in cases of mental disease seems to indicate that there is some deep-seated organic basis for the general personality trends we have just described.

Some remarkable bits of evidence have been secured. The relationship recorded, however, is not perfect, and a definite relation between anatomy and personality make-up as we observe it in the adult is a matter settled once and for all by the physical build with which the individual happens to be born.

We cannot be sure at the present time that there is a definite relation between anatomy and personality. Neither can we point to either of the opposed types with which we have been dealing here as an ideal. Each has its strong points, and its weak points. Each has a host of illustrious representatives. Introverts have gained their fame primarily by intellectual creations. In their ranks are numbered Joan of Arc, Michelangelo, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Edgar Allan Poe,

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(Work on this relationship with the so-called normal personality aggregates of introversion-extroversion has been carried on in the Colgate laboratory, under the successive leadership of Robert C. Little, Philip Payne and J. C. Anderson.)

Eleonora Duse. Extroverts have reached the pinnacle chiefly by deeds and actions. Prominent among those in the world's eye today are the Prince of Wales and Queen Marie of Rumania.

A host of well-known figures can be placed in neither camp, but are clearly ambiverts. Sarah Bernhardt, the last Czar of Russia, Sherwood Anderson, Arthur Brisbane, are among them.

Lastly, it must be recognized that the grouping denoted by the terms introversion and extroversion obviously does not give a complete picture of the personality of any individual. The scientific and public popularity of these terms at the present moment must not blind us to their limitations. When we designate an individual as introvert or extrovert we may have told a great deal about his personality, but we have not by any means told all.

Are you introvert or extrovert?

Each question answered "Yes" indicates a single introvert trait. If "Yes" answers predominate you are probably introvert. If "No" answers predominate you are probably extrovert. If the answers are about evenly balanced it indicates that you are ambivert.

1. Do you blush easily?
2. Are you slow to laugh?
3. Do you express your opinions, regardless of whether doing so will disturb others?
4. Would you rather write a report than give it in ordinary conversation?

5. Are you hesitant about loaning money or other belongings?

6. Are you usually slow and deliberate in your everyday actions?

7. Do you take especially good care of your personal belongings?

8. Are you hesitant about making friends with the opposite sex?

9. Are you embarrassed when you are in front of a crowd?

10. Do you dislike speaking in public?

11. Do you like to argue?

12. Do you worry about unimportant things?

13. Do you deliberate carefully before doing things of just ordinary importance?

14. Do you rebel inwardly when you are ordered to do something?

15. Do you work better and think seriously about it when you are praised?

16. Do you watch the motives of others carefully?

17. Are you inclined to be radical in politics and religion?

18. Would you rather work by yourself than with others?

19. Are your interests along intellectual lines rather than athletics?

20. Are you upset inwardly when you lose?

21. Do you day dream frequently?

22. Do you prefer delicate and painstaking work rather than coarse work?

23. Do you have moody times?

24. Are you exceptionally conscientious?

(A more detailed and somewhat complicated test for introversion as developed in the Colgate laboratory can be obtained from The Republican Press, Hamilton, N. Y.)

CHAPTER IV

ARE WOMEN MORE UNSTABLE THAN MEN?

Not many decades ago a certain board of bishops solemnly ruled that women could not become members of their church, because it was plainly evident that women did not have souls.

Only fifteen or twenty years back the dogmatic statement that women as a sex are less intelligent than men could be made in any company without precipitating any argument—unless one told it to a woman. All men and many women believed it as implicitly as third grade pupils believe what their teacher tells them. Scientific observers even in the early years of this century had no accurate, scientific method of determining whether there were any mental differences between the sexes. They had only their own rough, unaided but not unprejudiced observations to go by. Their lack of tested information did not deter them, nevertheless, from writing books which purported to show wherein men and women differed in intelligence. In most cases the men were declared to make a better showing.

When accurate mental tests were later applied to both men and women to measure these imaginary differences in general intelligence the results were rather discomforting. For the test records showed that if there

is any difference between men and women it is too slight and insignificant to deserve more than passing mention. The average woman has been found to have general mental intelligence about equal to that of the average man. The percentage of women who possess exceptionally high intelligence has been found about equal to the percentage of men of exceptionally high intelligence.

Naturally, history records many more outstanding accomplishments by men than by women. Among civilized races women have been so closely restricted for many centuries by their duties of housekeeping and child-rearing that only the most exceptional individuals have by some chance of education or ambition found an opportunity to gain fame in public or professional life. Man's dominance in social, political and economic life has needed no superior intelligence to assure him of the monopoly of fame and power as against the weaker sex. It has been so complete that until lately the ladies have never had a chance to develop their gifts.

After intelligence tests had shown that the most intelligent of both sexes were on a par, the pendulum seemed to swing to the opposite direction, for the feminists discovered that census statistics of schools for the feeble-minded revealed more men than women inmates. This appeared to indicate that after all man's claims of superiority a larger proportion of the male sex were guilty of extreme lack of intelligence.

This idea in its turn was soon punctured, and by a woman, Dr. Leta S. Hollingworth of New York City.

Not all of the feeble-minded, conjectured Dr. Hollingworth, are in institutions. In fact, there are probably 650,000 feeble-minded at large in the United States, according to conservative estimates. At the Clearing House for Mental Defectives in New York Dr. Hollingworth administered mental tests to those brought for examination. The records of these tests when impartially studied later disclosed that there are more men in schools for the feeble-minded because a woman can get by in the community with less intelligence! In general a woman is confined to an institution only if two or three years more retarded mentally than the point at which a man would be required to become an inmate. Perhaps this is a case in which men suffer for the very reason of their dominance. People expect more of them.

In some mental traits women seem to have a definite advantage over men. One of these is memory. Plenty of veteran husbands will probably testify to the truth of this, on the ground that their wives can never manage to forget the things in their past which they want to have forgotten. But unless the evidence scientific workers are gathering takes a sudden shift—an improbable development—we are forced to believe that in general intelligence there is no demonstrable difference between the sexes.

Personality disease in women

So much for the comparative intelligence of men and women. Now how about emotional and personality

differences? The problem of women's personality—if it actually is a problem—is looming constantly larger in our civilization. To-day women control more than 40 per cent of the individual wealth in the United States. More than half of the world's purchases are made by women. More than a third of the corporation stockholders in this country now are women. More important still in her emancipation, one out of five wage earners is a woman. Eight and a half million women in the United States are engaged in more than five hundred different occupations—including even blacksmithing.

This growing participation of women in the work of the world and in its financial control makes an accurate understanding of feminine personality of great importance. A sane, frank survey of woman's special characteristics, based upon something more fundamental than personal opinions, is needed.

If a census of opinions were to be taken, we would no doubt find an overwhelming majority of people firm in the belief that there are vast differences in the personality traits of men and women. However, opinions, as students in a laboratory must be continually reminded, are not valid data for a scientific investigator.

Unfortunately, until the last few years there has been no measure of emotional differences that can be compared in accuracy with the tests of intelligence. The Colgate Mental Hygiene Tests have now been developed experimentally to measure in a fairly reliable way certain emotional outlets. Records of several

hundred college men and women on these tests show how the sexes differ in emotional outlets.

When undesirable emotional outlets, such as being suspicious of the motives of others, become very marked, we have an abnormal mental condition. This is variously called a psychoneurotic condition, a nervous breakdown, or plain and cruel insanity. Nothing can better illustrate how a "personality type" becomes exaggerated into actual mental disorder than a description of actual cases which occurred in industrial work.

Helen was a sales clerk, thirty years old. She was self-conscious, quiet, reserved, stiff, inaccessible, listless. She was slow in replies to her customers, using single words and short ones so far as possible. She spoke without inflection. She was careless in her dress and personal appearance. When a customer came to her counter she would stand waiting without a word. She complained of headaches, difficulty in thinking, and a queer feeling that things were not as they used to be. Here is an extreme introvert developing into dementia praecox. In this case unfortunate circumstances had conspired toward that development. Her fiancé had died, and not long afterward her roommate had been asphyxiated under circumstances which pointed toward suicide. Her introvertive reaction to these depressing events, the natural one for her personality, had had its share in bringing on her condition.

Then there was Eloise, twenty-six years old, good-looking, well-dressed and buxom. This employee was continually being changed from one job to another within the organization in the hope that she would

"finally find her niche". She was self-important, slow to cooperate, and resentful of the authority of her superiors. She made many mistakes, but was exceptionally clever at covering them up. Once she had been promoted to a place in charge of a small group of girls, but she had "rubbed it in" so much that she had to be demoted.

When she was interviewed Eloise was much elated and displayed a broad grin. She was so full of energy she could scarcely sit still. There was every evidence of her smug satisfaction with herself. In conversation she talked incessantly, continually shifting the subject. "A constant din of unrelated conversation", the interviewer described it. This same characteristic could be seen in her work—a great deal of activity but with practically nothing accomplished. A manic type of personality behavior. Several months previously she had been in a generally run down condition and had spent some time in the hospital—probably a depressive personality episode. She is a good illustration of the usual prototype of the extreme extrovert merging into the manic-depressive mental patient.

The two cases just cited are typical of many which develop from unhealthy emotional outlets. In the records of mental hospitals we might be able to learn whether one sex tends more than the other toward extremely unhealthy outlets of this sort.

From 12 states in 1920 we find that one man out of every 1105 in the general male population and one woman out of every 1199 in the general female population were admitted to hospitals as mental patients.

This would indicate a slight, perhaps insignificantly slight, tendency for men to be characterized by these undesirable emotional outlets.

But not all mental disorder appears to be caused by these emotional outlets. We find, for instance, eight times as many men as women confined because of traumatic mental disorder, which is apparently caused by physical blows or chemical or physical conditions. There are more than five times as many men as women afflicted with mental disorder which is caused by social disease (general paralysis), and four times as many men as women suffering from alcoholic mental disorders. Over three times as many women as men have mental disorder associated with pellagra, and a large number of women have an erratic mental condition associated with childbirth.

The conditions just mentioned should be eliminated if we are to compare only the mental natures of the sexes, and not the social and environmental forces to which they are subject. When the mental disorders caused by these environmental stresses are removed from the statistics the results are quite different. We now find one man out of each 1444 in the general population and one woman out of each 1355 in the general population taken to a mental hospital. Thus, when only those disorders which reflect largely differences in emotional make-up are considered the male appears the more stable.

Emotional differences of normal men and women

The emotional behavior of normal men and women

we can compare by their records on the Colgate Mental Hygiene Tests. One of these deals with 48 items of behavior which indicate one's tendency to what is known as introversion-extroversion. In general the person characterized by introversion, as we have previously seen, lives his emotions within his own life, which becomes a life of fancy and day-dreaming. He enjoys solitude, prefers books to people, is slow to make friends, inconsiderate of the feelings of others but easily hurt himself, slow and easy-going in his actions, and so on for 48 items of behavior which are measured quantitatively. When introversion becomes extreme, as in the case of Helen just described, it is known as dementia praecox. Cases of this disorder make up about half of the mental disorder in the United States.

Among several hundred college students of both sexes we find the women on the whole decidedly more introvert. This means, psychologically, that the fair sex tend—or may be forced by convention—to live their emotions largely within themselves, while men live their emotions more in their associations with others. Not only is the average woman noticeably more introvert than the average man, but she seems to have a slightly different kind of introversion. It is a difference in kind as well as in degree.

Personality traits which are more diagnostic of introversion in men than in women are: (1) Keeping a diary. (2) Preferring intellectual affairs to athletics. Traits which are more diagnostic of introversion in women than in men are: 1. Working intermittently at

routine tasks. 2. Rebelling at discipline and commands. 3. Disliking to sell things. 4. Meeting the obligations of one's conscience promptly.

Introvert traits which are found more in women than in men are: 1. Working intermittently at routine tasks. 2. Worrying about possible misfortune. 3. Being easily hurt by the remarks or actions of others. 4. Being nervous and uncertain in dangerous or embarrassing situations. 5. Disliking to sell things. 6. Responding favorably to praise. These differences have an immediate practical bearing in social control and industrial relations work in industry, as well as in supervisory procedures.*

Psychasthenia and neurasthenia were also tested. Psychasthenia is a spurious form of mental fatigue. This includes inability to do mental work or to concentrate, and a queer feeling as if one were being hypnotized, or had changed and were no longer his old self. There are 32 traits of psychasthenia included in this test. Measurements of college men and women indicate that the latter tend more toward psychasthenia in their emotional outlets. The women are on the average about 22 per cent more psychasthenic than the men.

Neurasthenia is a spurious bodily fatigue. Feeling

* (In connection with these sex differences the interested reader will find more detail in the following articles from the Colgate laboratory: "Sex differences in emotional outlets" by Thomas McClumpha in *Science*, Sept. 25, 1925, page 292; "Sex and age differences in introversion-extroversion" by Roswell H. Whitman in *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, July-Sept. 1929, pages 207-211.)

tired on rising mornings, sleeping lightly, tiring easily are some of its most common signs. There are 22 measurements of these on one test. Again we find that women are afflicted to a larger extent than men, although the difference is not so marked as in the case of psychasthenia.

We will cite some industrial cases which give good pictures of neurasthenia.

Gladys was a twenty-two year old girl clerking in a department store. Although nothing physically wrong with her could be discovered to account for it, she managed to go to a hospital sixteen times within a year, apparently ill. Her superior said, "She is depressed and is getting thinner every day; goes to the hospital a great deal; is late frequently and not profitable as a sales clerk. She is a very nice person, has a lot of home problems, and it seems too bad to lay her off."

This girl had average intelligence, good speed and accuracy of muscular control. But she was too centered upon her possible bodily ailments. She indulged in sorrowful day-dreams, and would rather slink behind the counter thinking about her terrible (?) condition than approach a customer. Her poor personality adjustment was aggravated by her being in a job which called for personality traits which she did not possess.

She was later transferred to clerical work in one of the store offices. This kept her off her feet all day, reducing physical fatigue to the minimum. She did not have to approach customers nor deal with people in

this new job. She liked the work, stayed with it, and became a satisfactory employee.

Then there was Mary. Six years ago Mary started going to the company hospital; first just for nervousness, but later for tiredness and shifting bodily complaints. One trip it was this that was ailing her, the next trip it was that; and the trips were rather frequent. Finally she was given two weeks off with pay to take a rest and get back in condition. This rest failed to cure her. Instead it was followed by a veritable deluge of ailments: colds, run down condition, sore throat, sprained ankle, and so on. At the expense of the employees' mutual aid association she made trips of one, then two, then three weeks to the hospital. There were four years of this. Then she was given six months off with pay. When fellow-employees visited her during this half-year they found her "flat on her back in bed", unable to walk, eat or sleep, and talking about dying.

Afterwards, however, she returned to the store once more. There she would lean mournfully against the counter, would cry a great deal, and seemed generally exhausted. She had dizzy spells and choking sensations, trembled and shook, and was oppressed continually by a vague fear that something terrible was going to happen. Like Gladys, she was simply a case of neurasthenia.

Although common usage makes hysteria almost synonymous with womanhood, there has in hysteria symptoms been actually no demonstrable difference between the two sexes.

Dr. William J. Mayo has said that "neurasthenia, psychasthenia, hysteria and allied neuroses are the cause of more human misery than tuberculosis or cancer". The thwarting of natural personality tendencies is responsible for some part of this misery. We have already seen how these abnormal conditions, if they cannot actually be brought on, can at any rate be increased in severity by lack of proper consideration given to the individual's personality in business or social surroundings. That is entirely aside from the subject of sex differences, for both sexes are undoubtedly victims of this lack of self-realization.

There is no doubt of the difference in degree of undesirable emotional outlets between the sexes. Although in intelligence men and women are equal, in these emotional outlets, as shown by the figures already quoted, based on number of inmates in mental hospitals, the male is at an advantage. That is, there is a smaller percentage of men than of women who are affected by such outlets to the degree where they become mental patients.

But is this smaller tendency to exaggerated emotional outlets really an advantage for the men? True, it definitely indicates less proneness to mental disorder. But these outlets seem to be the very things which lend strong individuality to personal behavior and substitute vivacity for dulness, and even supply the spark of genius. Are they then necessarily undesirable? Most mental hygienists would affirm that they are. From our point of view, however, the decision cannot be given until we have, not merely arm-chair musings, but ac-

tual data to guide us. This data is being gathered now. In a few years the question may have a definite answer. Until that time it is probably well to be guided by the mental hygienist, even though arm-chair musings have a peculiar faculty of being found impressively erroneous.

Source of these sex differences

It has been found that intelligence is not alterable to any appreciable extent after birth. Are the emotional differences between sexes alterable? Are they not perhaps the result of differing environmental forces? It may be such forces, for example, which make women suspicious of the motives of others, or which make them take annoyance readily if they have an idea that people are watching them on the street.

Indirect evidence does seem to indicate that these emotional outlets are not inborn but acquired. If direct evidence which is being collected from our laboratory confirms this indication—and we are of the tentative opinion that it may—another bubble of sex-difference theory will be broken. However, the practical problem behind the theories will still remain. If the inborn emotional character of the sexes is discovered to be identical, we will then be faced with the task of smoothing out the social forces of our world so that it will remain identical, and womankind will no longer mean also emotional kind.

Anyone can find in his own experience the grounds for the feeling that the emotional differences of the

sexes which we have discussed may be acquired as a result of training and environment. Look to your own childhood for an illustration. Were your brothers and sisters allowed to play the same games? Between the ages of 14 and 20 were they allowed the same degree of freedom? Were the boys taught the same modesty as the girls? Of course not!

Sexual restraints

The abolition of sexual restraints has been proposed by some who hasten to a mis-application of a misunderstanding of the possible sexual basis of undesirable personality conditions. In *their* opinion sexual indulgence is equivalent to lack of restraint, and therefore to absence of frustration. The evidence is far from sufficient to show that they are right. Much work must still be done in this field to justify any broad conclusions.

We of the Colgate laboratory had one opportunity some time ago to study on a small scale the distorted personality tendencies of a group of young people of both sexes. The objects of this study were a group of western college students, living in a common environment at the time and coming from fairly similar prior environments. The study was conducted under conditions which made it possible to compare these tendencies in adolescents who were celibate and in those who indulged their sexual trends.

The psychoneurotic tendencies of these persons were gauged by *Woodworth's Psychoneurotic Inventory.*

This consists of a large number of questions. The questions asked are of the following type: "Do you feel well and strong most of the time?", "Do you have a queer feeling that you are not your old self?", "Do you feel sad and low-spirited most of the time?", etc. These are answered either *yes* or *no*. The score is the total number of answers indicative of conditions which if developed to an extreme degree are signs of psychoneurotic personality. (This has been extensively revised, and the answer changed in such a way as to represent a quantitative measure of the individual's deviation from average or normal. It has not been possible yet to obtain data relating to the topic of this section by means of the Colgate Mental Hygiene Tests, and will probably not be possible to do so for some time.)

The average score of 42 men on this inventory was 22.9, the range being from 9 to 54. The average score of 67 women was 28.8, with the range from 12 to 55.

It was possible to obtain reliable information about 8 of the women who, though single, indulged their sexual tendencies. The average psychoneurotic score of this group was 28, and the range from 18 to 34. The average score of 7 women who did not indulge themselves and never had done so was 18.4, the range from 13 to 29.

Celibate women of middle adolescence thus appear to be more stable mentally than their sisters who indulge themselves from time to time. Those who indulge, however, have a score on the psychoneurotic inventory that is at the average of the entire group of women. They are no more psychoneurotic, so far as the inventory indi-

cates, than the average. This result may have been caused by the fact that some of the cases which could not be placed in either of the two groups because of lack of information belonged properly in one or the other of them.

On these inventories, then, indulgence does not make an adolescent girl less psychoneurotic. Neither does it appear to make her more psychoneurotic than the average of a group *with unknown antecedents*. She may appear more psychoneurotic than her celibate sister because (1) she describes herself more frankly, because (2) intercourse does not necessarily satisfy sexual trends, because (3) intercourse out of wedlock precipitates more cares and worries at times than will be compensated for by the satisfaction of one's sexual desires, or because (4) lack of indulgence is in itself a sign of greater mental stability and personality control.

The average score of ten men who indulged themselves from time to time was 21.6, the range from 11 to 53. The average score of 15 celibate men was 22.9, with a range from 10 to 47. This does not indicate any difference on Woodworth's inventory. Factors (1), (2) and (4) listed above would probably apply to men as much as to women. The fact that factor (3) would apply with more force to women than to men might indicate that celibate adolescent women are more stable mentally because of the freedom from worry over sexual excesses.

Treating women as men

The trouble with the emotional lives of women as a

sex may be the result of the treatment they have generally received throughout their lives, as sheltered beings trained to narrow existences of home-making, modesty and seclusion. If they were given the same freedom, met with the same open comradeship, as men, perhaps their supposed "feminine" tendencies to neurotic make-up would disappear.

I am well acquainted with an Iowa farmer and his wife who illustrate splendidly the effects on a normal woman of a lifetime of seclusion and repression, and the equally interesting counter-effects of the removal of the factors mentioned.

Fred, the farmer, used to attend his lodge meeting once a week while Fanny, his wife, stayed at home and mended. Twice a year he went to Chicago with a load of stock and came home with fascinating stories of his experiences. She did the chores while he was away. He met strangers and engaged in interesting discussions with them. She avoided strangers, for had she not been taught from childhood to be wary of them?

One day I happened to drop into their home just as Fred was coming from the barn with a foaming bucket of milk. He offered me a cigar, with the remark:

"Well, Fanny and I have been married twenty years to-day!"

He had bought himself a box of cigars for the occasion. But devoted, hard-working, much-enduring Fanny —not even a new broom had he thought of buying her!

"Fred," I said, "let me congratulate you. Fanny's meant a great deal to you, hasn't she? I'll separate that milk for you while you go in and shave and help her

set the table. I mean it! I want you to make this day mean something for her. I've got something to talk over with both of you."

As I was separating the milk I wondered if Fanny's hum was as merry as that of the separator which was purring like a happy cat under the kitchen range.

"Yes sir! Just twenty years ago to-day we were married and moved into this house," Fred explained as we sat down to the table. "We've prospered quite a bit since then, haven't we, Fan? Hard work and good business judgment—that's what did it!"

"Didn't you go to Des Moines or Keokuk for a honeymoon?" I asked.

"No sir! Came right here and settled down. Good hard work, you know, is my recipe for happiness."

For twenty years poor Fanny had been practically chained to a plot of ground and a small group of neighbors! Fred had seen Chicago, Fanny had never been near it. Fred had talked with the boys at lodge meetings while Fanny stayed at home and worked. I was thinking of Fanny—

"Aren't thinking of retiring and moving to the city, are you, Fred?"

"Nope. We're both spry yet, and you know good hard work—"

I turned to Fanny. "Have you ever eaten any of this Chinese food Fred tells you about getting in Chicago? Of course," I said, as I noted the look of apprehension that came across her face, "they don't really cook angle worms in it. It is bamboo sprouts—like the oat sprouts you feed baby chicks—that looks like worms."

She became interested and in half an hour she wanted nothing more than to get out and see some of these places she had read about and heard Fred tell about.

Fred had never been to the Rocky Mountain states, so I told him about my rancher friends, and how they drilled oil wells. When Fanny left to light the kerosene lamp I said to Fred, "Never had a honeymoon, eh? How'd you like to watch Fanny when she eats some bamboo sprouts that look like angle worms, or some shrimp that looks like caterpillars?" He chuckled at the thought.

"It's time you both had a lark. Get out and see a round-up in Wyoming. Go to Arizona and watch Fanny in the—"

Fanny came in with the flickering lamp. Fred was wavering.

"Fred is just thinking about you and he going on a trip," I explained. "Away from the farm for a whole year!"

"Oh, we couldn't leave that long. What would happen to the stock?"

"Young Thompson over at Nevada is going to be married in June," I said. "He wants to get a farm on shares."

So Fred and Fanny and I arranged for Thompson to get married a month earlier than he had planned, and to take a whole month's honeymoon on money Fred advanced him.

With the coming of June, Thompson and his bride moved into the farm and Fred and Fanny, both flushed

with anticipation, boarded the Rock Island train with two tickets, each a yard long.

* * * * *

Last week I got a letter from Fred, who was in Las Vegas. It reminded me that I wanted to write this chapter. Here it is.

"DEAR DOC:

This is a pretty big country. I'd like to spend the rest of my life looking it over. Not good farming country here, but darn interesting.

Say, you should have seen Fanny eat shrimp. She didn't act surprised like we thought she would. But she did enjoy them!

She is having the time of her life, meeting new people and talking with them. She looks ten years younger and is always figuring out how the new food we get in hotels has been cooked. You'd laugh to hear her tell everybody what a great place Iowa is. She holds her own with any of them now.

Almost every place we stop she gets some trinkets to send home. The parlor won't hold them all. This morning she bought a batch of baskets from some of the Indians and is sending them to the minister's wife.

We should have started off this way twenty-odd years ago. You psychologists seem to have the right dope. I want to read some of it when we get back, and I sure appreciate what you've done for us.

Yours truly,

FRED B.

P.S. How is Thompson coming on the farm? Fanny has seen so much and had such a good time that when she sees you

again she'll probably just talk, talk, talk an arm right off you!"

I stopped out to see Thompson. Hard worker with good business judgment. In twenty years will he realize any better than Fred did that the trouble with women is that men treat them as women instead of treating them as human beings?

CHAPTER V

WHAT UNDERLIES UNHAPPY MARRIAGES?

PERHAPS the most difficult problem of all in the field of personality adjustment, in the lives of most individuals, is the domestic one,—the search for happiness in marriage. Certainly this is the most intimate of personality problems, and the one which brings about the most harrowing emotional disasters when proper adjustment cannot be secured.

The ever-growing number of divorces is a convincing evidence of the increasing strain on the institution of marriage brought about by our modern complex civilization. The gradual weakening of the once universal attitude that the traditional Occidental form of marriage is an immutable and perfect form of union for any two individuals of opposite sex is another evidence of the same thing. To-day suggestions for improvement on the traditional form of marriage are discussed as freely as new styles in clothing or architecture.

It is outside our province to express any opinions on the virtues or shortcomings of present marriage customs, but we are directly interested in whatever new facts can be unearthed by research regarding the underlying psychological causes for marital unhappiness. These, it should be remarked, are often very different

from the causes to which those concerned attribute their troubles. The real causes are apt to lie too deep for discovery except by a scientifically detached study of the two personalities involved.

Obviously, some married couples are temperamentally so utterly unsuited to each other that it is beyond human power for them to live happily together. Such couples should never have married in the first place. Such unwise marriages will always occur, but any increase in our knowledge of the factors which make two personalities unsuitable for the companionship of wedlock should help decrease their number.

Some of our present ideas regarding the relation of personality and marriage, although widespread, seem to lack any convincing foundation. One of these is the popular notion that opposite types of personalities attract each other in marriage, like opposite magnetic poles. Dr. A. E. Wiggam, Pearson, and others, have published considerable data in recent years tending to disprove this theory.

It was the desire to investigate the validity of this theory that first led us to undertake an investigation of the personality background of happy and unhappy marriages. Our work on this subject was begun several years ago as the result of conclusions drawn regarding the same theory as applied to individuals of the same sex who were living or working in close association. We had found that in factories workers of like interests and emotional make-up were those who got along together best when placed side by side. Other groups of workers equally skilled in their work, but of diverse

emotional types, did not get along so well together.

A study of the boys in boys' summer camps, and the new friendships which they contracted among themselves during the camp season gave similar results. In the majority of cases the boys who became very close friends were those of like personality types. We made introversion-extroversion ratings of the boys to determine this.

We then decided to endeavor to secure data which would be reliable enough to permit a successful study of the effect of like and unlike personality types on the prospects of happiness in marriage. The chief source of the data which we accumulated for this study was a rather exhaustive data blank which we sent out to married persons of both sexes who were listed in "Who's Who in America." This method of selection enabled us to reach the cultured type of individual most likely to be willing to lend his co-operation to a scientific investigation, and also most likely to give intelligent and sincere answers to questions. It also gave us a good cross-section of a significant quantity of normal marriages—that is, marriages which, so far as known in advance, might be either happy or unhappy. We considered making a simultaneous study of divorce statistics, but found it difficult to get the necessary co-operation from both parties to a divorce.

The "Who's Who" list, in addition to the advantages just enumerated, also provided us a representative group of American families at what most people would consider a good "healthy" social level. They do not tend to extremes either of wealth or poverty. As a class

they can be considered the conservators and developers of our social heritage, a type toward which many believe that our general development as a people should be directed.

A larger group could have been used, but the uniformity of the results we obtained was so great that larger quantities would hardly have been likely to give any more reliable results. The variations were so slight that the first hundred cases, summarized separately, gave the same results as the entire group taken together.

The data blank we used on this "Who's Who" list was sent to both husband and wife in every case. It was sent only after they had answered favorably a previous letter soliciting their co-operation in a scientific investigation of the psychological causes of incompatibility in marriage. They were promised, of course, that, although the results would probably be published, the data furnished would be kept strictly confidential and anonymous.

Although the data sheets themselves were sent in to us unsigned, about one in every ten persons who sent one in enclosed a letter asking that we send them information later about our findings. We noticed at the time that the majority of these people were among those whose compatibility with husband or wife was low.

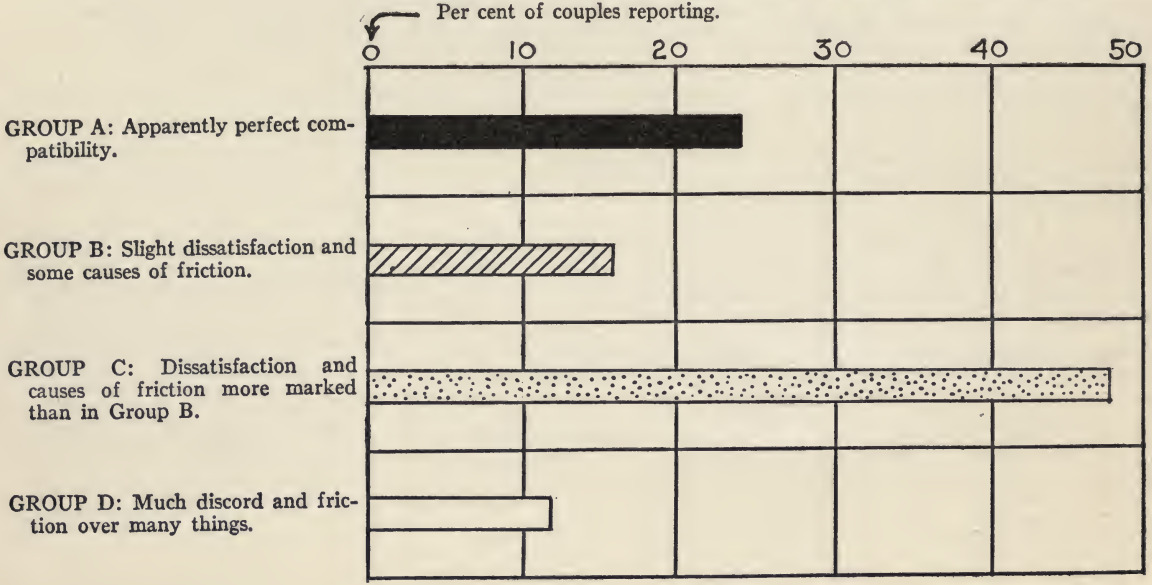
There were quite a few interesting incidents connected with these inquiries. In one case the husband sent back the blank with the statement, "Very compatible; no cause of discord at all." The wife's envelope

had been opened and we found in it a letter from the husband. The wife had checked on her blank that there was much discord and she really was pretty unhappy. He wrote on the bottom and back of her report a communication to us of about three hundred words, explaining that his wife had really misunderstood. She had taken too academic an attitude. She was really happy, although she thought she wasn't, and so on. It is usually supposed to be the wife who opens her husband's mail, but it would seem that that game works both ways.

There was another case from Oregon. The man was listed in "Who's Who" as married. In response to the letter of inquiry, soliciting his co-operation with us, he wrote back a very affecting letter. He spent considerable time in telling how important he thought the work was; how interested he was in it. Then he said that he had perhaps more interest than most people in this particular project because for two years he had been living at his present address and his wife had been living at a hotel in California. He said they had never been able to get along and, now that they could financially afford it, she was living apart and going her own course. He suggested two or three ways in which we might get results from her without her knowing that he was back of it in any way. He was hopeful that perhaps we would find something that could be adjusted, that would bring about a reconciliation.

About five per cent of the entire list originally circularized sent in data blanks with the information we requested, which required about two hours' work to fill

The prevalence of incompatibility among successful persons.



in. The replies indicated all degrees of trouble brewing. There were barely one-fourth of the couples reporting who gave practically no evidence of incompatibility. The replies, even in these cases, were so impersonal that it was not possible to infer whether genuine affection had been the only reason for the marriage, although one would suspect so. This group we called Group A or Perfect Compatibility Group.

There were 15 per cent of the cases in which there was slight dissatisfaction and a few sources of friction; a little wrangling and a little internal boiling over, whether it came to blows and the rolling pin or merely to unkind words. That we called Group B.

Next came Group C, in which the prevalence of friction and causes of discord and internal agony, if we may call it that, was more strongly marked. This group was by far the largest, accounting for almost 50 per cent of all cases.

The last group, as we divided them, was Group D, the Very Incompatible Group, which represented the opposite extreme to Group A. This included 12 per cent of the cases. In these marriages there was a great deal of discord and continual wrangling over a good many things. Apparently the families were just held together by the fear of what the neighbors would think, by social pressure, and by consideration for the children, although children themselves appear to be a cause of friction. This is the sort of marriage where husband and wife probably go sometimes for days without speaking to each other.

In about half the marriages we dealt with there is

a great deal of marital suffering that neighbors and friends don't know about. Most of this smouldering turmoil will probably never come to the divorce courts, because of appearances, convention, or perhaps economic advantage. In these cases the couples were presumably glad to relieve their minds of some of their troubles by writing about them to strangers in a college many miles away.

Our purpose was not to discover how much incompatibility there is, but to learn how compatibility, or the degree of "getalongableness," is related to certain mental and social factors. We separated our cases into the four groups described, selected by degrees of compatibility, simply to facilitate the study of the effect of these factors.

Specified causes of discord

Our data sheets asked specifically what the causes of marital discord were in the cases where it existed. It is probable that these conscious causes of friction are really only symptoms rather than underlying causes, but the answers regarding these apparent causes gave some very interesting results.

First of all as a cause of discord came "finances". This although the group of families we were investigating was economically very stable, and not in any danger of want. Fifty per cent of the men reported finances as a cause of some of their dissatisfaction with married life, and a little less than fifty per cent of the women did likewise.

Second in line, true to the time-honored jokes, came troubles involving mothers-in-law and other relatives.

Probably the popularity of mother-in-law stories from time immemorial has sprung from their actual truthfulness to life. And it is not only the mother-in-law who causes trouble. There is also the unwelcome father-in-law, and the sister-in-law who lives in town with the married couple in order to go to high school, and makes it necessary for John and the two older boys to sleep up in the attic. Slightly more than 25 per cent of the men and just under 25 per cent of the women listed in-laws as one cause of their marital difficulties.

"Children" were reported as third in importance among the causes of incompatibility. One-fourth of the women and not quite one-fifth of the men listed them as a factor.

The fourth in importance was "attention to others". We did not dare ask flatly "Are you jealous?", so the question was worded "Are attentions to others a cause of marital incompatibility in your particular case?". More than one-fourth of the men reported that "glances, remarks and attitudes their wife held toward other men was a cause of dissatisfaction or friction on the husband's part". Less than 10 per cent of the women reported the same factor. Evidently women are not naturally as jealous as men—or else they have less cause for jealousy.

"Differences in education" was fifth on the list, and again with the men reporting it more often. It is 16 per cent of the men versus 12 per cent of the women who list that as a cause. It probably is a wise plan for a college graduate to marry a college graduate; for a high school graduate to marry a high school graduate.

"Meals—either irregularity or poor preparation thereof"—almost 15 per cent of the men and almost 10 per cent of the women cited this. The men's complaints were mostly on account of poor quality or of "coming home from the office and finding my wife not home from the bridge club yet, and dinner not ready". The woman also has often just cause for complaint. She is planning on going somewhere at eight o'clock in the evening. When dinner is ready to put on the table, Henry hasn't yet shown up. Then the telephone rings and there is some old high school friend of his in town, and he is bringing him out to dinner.

"Sex relations" ranked seventh. Eight per cent of the men and 6 per cent of the women listed that as a cause. It is remarkable that the percentage on this item came out as large as it did. We are certain that these figures are at a minimum. Natural reluctance, for instance, to give rather confidential and intimate information of this sort would probably keep many of them from mentioning conditions that really existed.

The remaining five reasons that were known to cause friction from time to time all occurred in a very small percentage of cases; that is, in 5 per cent or less. In all of these the husbands reported a little in excess of the wives. In the order of importance of those five, the first was "difference in social status". Of course with marriage the social status should become the same, but the social status background before marriage may be different. "Husband's clubs" comes after that; "drinking" next, very low. Before prohibition it may have been otherwise. "Wife's clubs" is next to the last,

and "golf" is last. And it was only husbands who complained about golf—about their wives' golf. Golf may have some influence on other factors, such as delayed meals, neglect of children, attentions to others, and so forth, but golf per se was at the bottom of the list.

It is significant that the men in general reported a greater variety of causes of incompatibility than the women. With a single exception, every cause specified was also mentioned by more men than women. The one exception was "children". That may have been due to the fact that the mother's all-day-long association with the children makes them a much greater factor in her life than in that of the father.

The effect of children on compatibility

One of our questions was "Do children increase compatibility?" The answers were not at all reassuring. In fact they indicated that the presence of children has just the opposite effect from the beneficial one which most people ascribe to it.

Children may keep families together, for several reasons. In the first place the parents consider the difficult future that will await the innocent youngsters if they are left on their own or put in an orphanage. Then there is also the economic consideration that a greater income will be necessary to support what virtually becomes two families if the parents separate. Children thus prevent divorces, but at the same time they apparently keep adding to the friction between their parents.

In the Most Compatible Group, 31 per cent of the families were childless, and in the Very Discordant Group only 10 per cent were without children. As we go from the extremely compatible group to the very discordant group, we find a steady increase in the percentage of families that have children. An interesting coincidence in the data was that the families that did have children in each of the four groups had the same average number, 2.4 children per family.

In addition to the data on the relationship between the presence of children and compatibility, we have reports from each person as to whether or not they got along better after the birth of children. We didn't ask them if they got along worse because that would have prejudiced them considerably. They were to say either that they got along better or that they didn't get along better. Sixty-six per cent of the men and 70 per cent of the women reported that after the birth of children they did not get along any better. The difference between 66 per cent and 70 per cent is too slight to indicate definitely that the presence of children affects women more than it does men.

Children contribute to incompatibility in many ways. Some people love to take care of children and some don't. The mere fact that people have children isn't proof that they love to take care of them.

Take the workman, for instance. He comes home fairly tired and he wants to rest. On the way home he may be thinking lyrically how lovely children are. Then he gets home to find that Johnny has just broken somebody's cellar window, or done something else for which

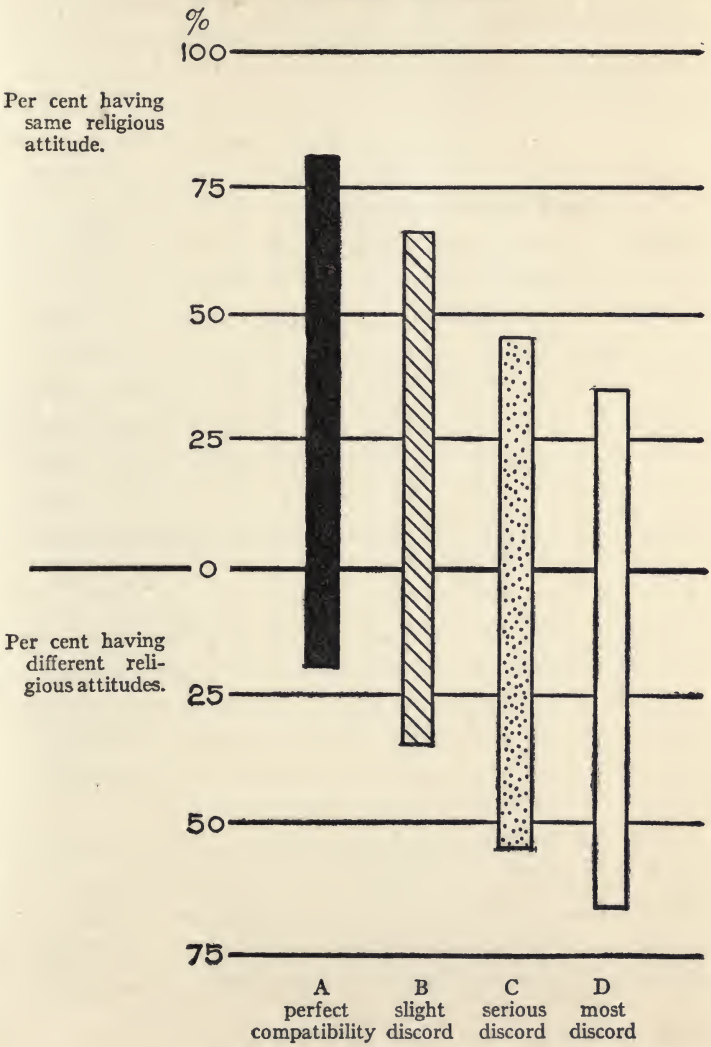
he is supposed to be spanked. This adds to Johnny's father's burden of fatigue and acts as an indirect cause to keep him more irritable all evening long. Or the father may have just gotten settled in an easy chair at home, with the evening paper up in front of him, when bang! a baseball or a tin airplane nearly knocks the paper from his hands. To many people children are a constant irritation in innumerable ways such as these.

There are also family squabbles over children. Very frequently the wife has one favorite child, the husband has another favorite child. Each is guilty of favoritism toward his own favorite at the expense of the other child, and this is a constant source, not just of smoldering friction, but oftentimes of overt flare-ups. Then when it comes to what career young Johnny should embrace, or what sort of boys Nellie should go around with, heated discussions are very likely to be caused by differences of opinion.

One hears the remark made with plausible frequency, concerning some incompatible couple, "It's too bad they don't have children. They would get along much better together if they had some." I call to mind a case in point, a couple whom I know personally. The husband is a very extrovert man, of about thirty-five, who likes outdoor work and has always handled gangs of men. His wife is a rather intellectual type, very musical and fond of reading. They get along like cats and dogs. They live in a town of three thousand and, because they are financial and social leaders in the county, the whole town is interested in their affairs. Any of their fellow-townsmen is likely to make a re-

RELATION OF MARITAL COMPATIBILITY

to sameness or difference in religious attitudes of husband and wife.



SUMMARY: When husband and wife hold similar religious attitudes compatibility is increased.

mark about the benefits that children would bring to this couple. For my part, I beg leave to doubt it, in this and all similar cases. Judging from our data, the suffering of the children would merely be added to that of the parents.

The effect of religion

It seems to make no difference to wedded happiness whether husband and wife belong to the same church or religious sect or to different ones. We had only a small percentage of cases where a Catholic was married to a Protestant, and in these cases the fact seemed to have no effect upon compatibility. In most of these cases, however, the religious attitude of both husband and wife was one of mere conformity or indifference, rather than intense religious fervor. In cases where a Baptist was married to a Methodist there was the same absence of effect, so long as both took only an average interest in religious matters.

It is probable that differences in religion, as they are usually understood in advance, are generally made the subject of a "gentleman's agreement" for mutual tolerance between the engaged couple, and are removed from the field of discussion before the marriage takes place.

What does make a difference in compatibility is the similarity in degree of religious fervor or devoutness of husband and wife, regardless of what their respective beliefs may be. We found that, when the couple have similar religious attitudes, they get along much better

than when the husband's religious attitude is different from that of his wife. The attitude may be one of religious fervor; it may be just conformity in going to church and supporting the work of the church; it may be indifference, or it may be aggressive atheism. So long as the husband and wife have a similar attitude they get along much better.

In the Most Compatible Group, 80 per cent of the husbands and wives have similar religious attitudes. In Group D, where incompatibility is rampant, we find 67 per cent of the husbands and wives differing in religious attitude. Groups B and C represent very evenly spaced intermediate steps.

There was a slight tendency, although not a consistent one, for an intense religious attitude to further compatibility. The reason for this was not clear. It may be that the character which tends to develop an intensely religious attitude is at the same time endowed with greater capacity for affection than the average, or is able to endure more and get along better with other people in general. It may be, in other cases, that the deeply religious person finds solace for marital troubles in religious faith, or in the belief that the Lord has willed that things should be so and that he must make the best of it.

The effect of age

Two questions were studied in connection with the age of married couples. What is the effect on compatibility of the relative ages of husband and wife? And

do early or late marriages hold better promise of happiness?

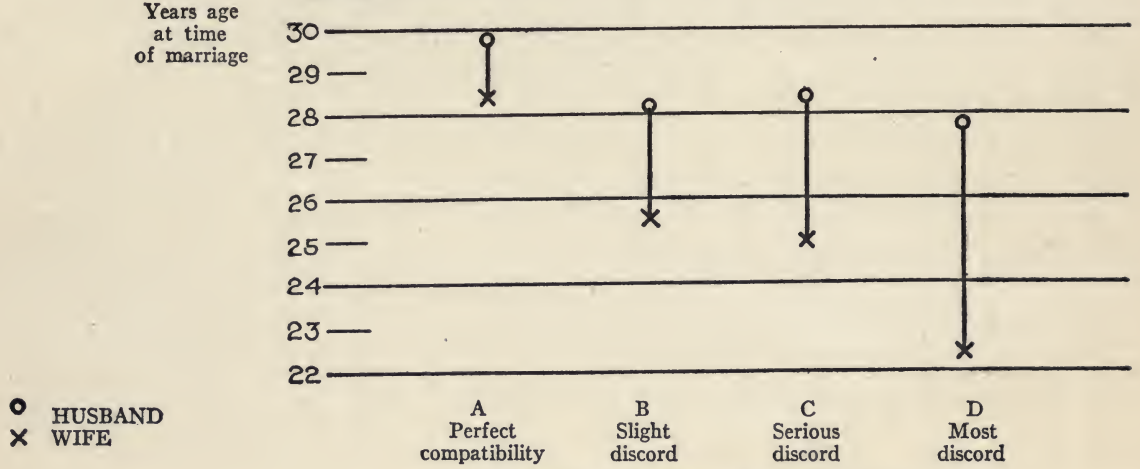
Aristotle, who said many things that time has proven wrong, claimed that a wife should be about eight years younger than her husband. Havelock Ellis, and I think Will Durant, hold to the same theory. The semi-scientific foundation for this belief is the old assumption that the woman of 20 has a little more mature judgment than the man of 20, and that the husband must therefore be older to hold his ground and maintain his dignity. This reasoning has a little ground, for women do pass through the period of adolescence and reach maturity earlier than men. But there is only about a year and a half of difference between the sexes at that stage, and after the age of about 16 the males seem to be pretty well caught up.

In contrast to Aristotle's theory, our own data indicate very definitely that the closer the ages of husband and wife, the better they get along together. In the Most Compatible Group there was an age difference on the average of only slightly more than a year. In Group B, where compatibility was a little less, the age difference was a little more than two and a half years. In Group C, where there was still greater lack of compatibility, a little more than three and a half years' difference in age prevailed. In the Very Discordant Group, Group D, there was almost five and a half years' difference in age.

The husband apparently should not be many more years older than the wife. The indications are that he should be only a year or two her senior.

AGE AT TIME OF MARRIAGE

of both husband and wife, and difference in ages, by compatibility groups.



Degree of compatibility, by groups.

SUMMARY: Wives younger than husbands; age at marriage becomes younger as compatibility decreases; difference in age between husband and wife becomes much greater as compatibility becomes worse. *Are young marriages bad?*

In the cases studied, the husbands 99 times out of 100 were older than their wives. In the few cases where the wife was older, as a rule the difference was only a year or two. The greatest age difference was in a case where the husband at the time of marriage was 57 and the wife only 28. This case was in Group C, the next to the worst group. As the wife mentioned finances as a cause of friction and the husband did not, it is to be suspected that the young wife married largely for financial reasons.

When a considerable age difference does exist, the emotional point-of-view taken by one partner toward the other undoubtedly has much to do with determining their compatibility. Disraeli's wife, who was thirteen years older than he, and of different personality type in many ways, had the saving grace of acting toward him as much like a mother as a wife. The great prime minister was so deeply attached to her that her death left him heartbroken.

Now the other question. Are young marriages more compatible than old marriages? The average age at marriage of the men in the Very Compatible Group was 29½ years and that of the women 28½. The average age at marriage of men in the Very Discordant Group was not quite 28, and that of the women was 22½. That seems like an approach toward "June and December" marriages. The tendency was consistent throughout the four age groups. The earlier average age at marriage was associated in most cases with greater incompatibility. It is possible that if we had a series of data from marriages at ages of 16, 17 and 18 it would

be different. However, we can definitely say this. If a person reaches the age of 20 unmarried, the wise advice to follow is to wait until he is 30, if compatibility is the main thing that he is considering. Among this group of representative Americans very few had married before the age of 20. But when it comes to the question of deliberately waiting until 30 or beyond, good advice is seldom likely to be followed. All data bear out only too well Andy Gump's observation that Cupid is not only blind, but deaf, dumb and insane!

Should like marry like?

One of the principal questions we were seeking to determine was this: "Should like marry like?" We have already seen the indications of an affirmative answer to this question in the matters of religious attitude, age, and education. Deeper still goes the factor of personality make-up.

The differences in psychological make-up between husband and wife seem to be more important than any other single factor in determining the degree of marital happiness. These differences really underlie some of the other differences already discussed, such as those of religious attitude. Their influence is not so definite in cases of difference in age, but even there it exists to some extent, because there is a tendency for a person to become more introvert as he grows older. In the June and December marriages we found in our Group D, where the average age of the husband at the time of marriage was almost 28 while the wife was just past

22, the husband could be expected to be slightly more introvert than his younger wife.

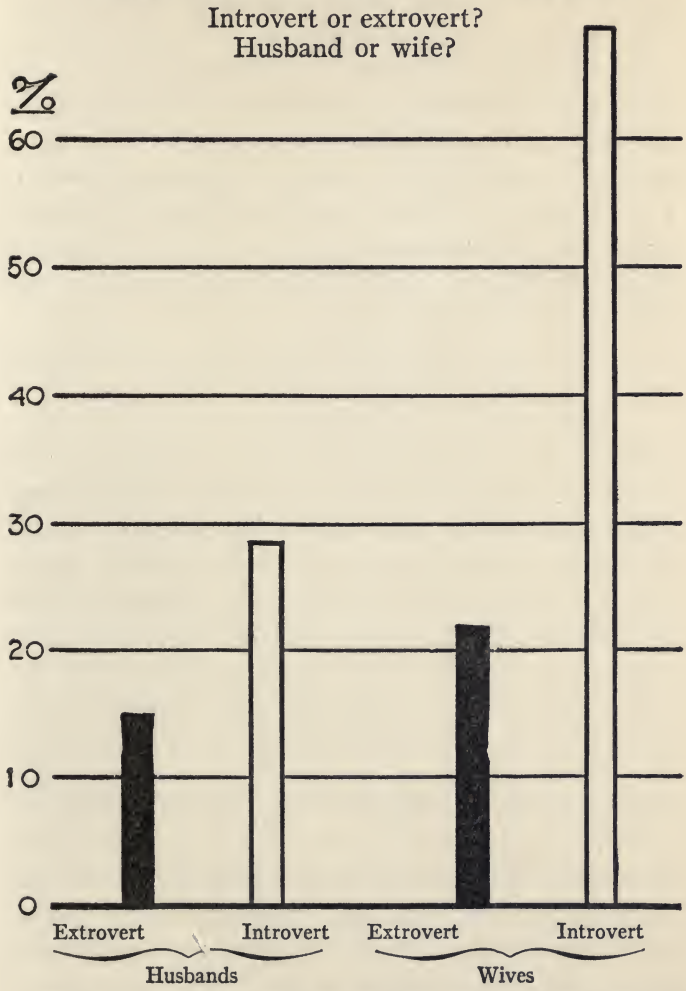
The data blanks used in our investigation included a full series of questions forming an introversion-extroversion rating scale similar to that given at the end of Chapter III of this book. We were thus able to classify accurately as to similarity or dis-similarity of personality type each couple who reported.

This is what we found. When an introvert is married to an introvert, an ambivert to an ambivert, or an extrovert to an extrovert, compatibility as a rule is greatest. In the worst groups, C and D, there was about 40 per cent difference in introversion, on the average, between the man and the woman. That is, either the husband or the wife was on the average about 40 per cent more introvert than the other. In the most compatible group, Group A, this difference was only slightly more than 20 per cent, or just about half as great as in Groups C and D.

Of course it would be impossible for everyone to marry a person of the opposite sex who represented just the same degree of introversion. As a matter of fact the average degree of introversion among women is about 10 per cent higher than among men. So if everybody in the world were married it would be impossible to have like married to like in each case. But our data make it evident that a high degree of similarity is definitely desirable. When like marries like compatibility is much greater than when opposites marry.

It is differences of psychological make-up which are patently responsible for marital difficulties in many

WHO GETS THE DIVORCE?



Far more wives than husbands have contemplated getting a divorce, and more than twice as many introverts as extroverts have seriously thought of taking divorce action.

cases where the conscious grounds given by the parties concerned are something less fundamental. Finances may be cited, for instance, as the reason for trouble, when the real reason is that Mary is an extrovert and John an introvert. Mary wants to be constantly on the go to theatres and parties. John wants to stay comfortably at home where he can smoke a pipe and think and read. The best defense that occurs to him is "It's too expensive. We can't afford to go out so much." And finances get the blame.

Who thinks first of divorce?

We found a surprising percentage of persons who had been thinking of getting divorced, although they had not taken any action. A few had thought of it only at times of emotional flare-ups and scenes. Many others had considered it seriously and recurrently from time to time. More than one-third of the total group from whom we received data had contemplated it.

In spite of the fact that men gave many more reasons than women for dissatisfaction with the marriage tie, it was predominantly the women who had thought of the solution of divorce. In fact, more than twice as many women as men reported having considered the possibility. This revelation was an unexpected one to us. We knew that court records show that many more women than men get divorces, but we had supposed that the economic factor of alimony was responsible for husbands avoiding divorces which they otherwise would welcome. These, however, were merely

cases of potential divorce suits, where action had not been taken and might never be taken. Yet the same situation was shown as in the court statistics.

It was also outstandingly evident that introverts think of divorce more readily than extroverts. Twice as many introverts as extroverts had thought of the possibility. Among the women almost three times as many introverts as extroverts had thought of it. So, in answer to the question, "Who is most apt to get a divorce?", we can say that it will probably be the woman, and especially if she is an introvert.

Does married life improve compatibility?

Do married couples get along better the longer they have been married? Do they grow together, learn to be more fond of each other, and to understand each other's weaknesses and make allowances for them?

Our data revealed no significant tendency one way or the other. In some cases it appeared that husband and wife did get along better with the passage of time than they had at first. In other cases it appeared that they got along worse and worse. Apparently compatibility is in general not altered by the years a couple have lived together. If they are not compatible during their first year of married life, there is not much hope that some miracle will make them perfectly so at the end of two or five or ten years.

This may sound pessimistic, but there is a silver lining to the cloud. We have just stated the conclusion that the most important of all factors influencing com-

patibility is the relative degree of introversion of husband and wife—that is, the similarity of their personalities.

Here is the hopeful side of the situation for the newly married couple who are not of thoroughly compatible personalities. No individual's personality type is determined entirely by inheritance. An introvert can oftentimes make himself deliberately a little more extrovert. Although it is harder for the extrovert to change himself toward the other extreme, he can always accomplish something by trying seriously.

When a discontented husband finds that there is a visible difference in emotional make-up between himself and his wife, the sensible thing for him to do is to check up on some of the traits in which they differ, and then by habit cultivation try to become a little more like his wife. If he is an introvert, and argues too much, he should read a good joke book and get some passable stories to tell instead each time he feels like arguing. If he is an extrovert, and insists on filling his home with unexpected guests, he should try to tone down his hospitality by taking his wife out occasionally, instead of bringing his friends home or staying out late while the wife remains at home alone. The wife can also take a similar attitude, and the gap between them can be definitely lessened.

If there is a difference in ages, it should not be judged by arteries. The older person should try to have young ideas, the younger person mature ones.

The couple should both work to cultivate similar

habits and tastes, to develop similar points-of-view, to find a happy middle ground in life.

The one greatest failing of all which is to be avoided is the common habit of blaming the other party. It will not do for the husband, as he often does, to blame his wife for their dissimilarities, or for the wife to blame the husband. It is no more the fault of one than of the other if they are of different types. It is up to each to try to change in the direction of greater likeness to the other, instead of starting out to try to compel the other to do the changing.

How Compatible is Your Marriage?

Rating scale adapted by Roswell Whitman and J. C. Anderson

Check here if answer is "Yes"		Check here if answer is "No"
	Answer only one of these two:	
——	Have you felt occasionally that you could obtain more happiness from marriage than you are getting? (1 point)	——
——	Have you a fairly steady feeling of dissatisfaction or irritation due to your married life? (2 points)	——
	Answer only one of these two:	
——	Under emotional strains have you *ever* thought of taking divorce action? (1 point)	——
——	Have you seriously considered taking divorce action when you have not been emotionally upset? (2 points)	——

Answer only one of these four:

——— Is the wife older than the husband? (1 point) ———

——— Is the wife from 2½ to 3½ years younger than the husband? (1 point) ———

——— Is the wife from 3½ to 5½ years younger than the husband? (2 points) ———

——— Is the wife more than 5½ years younger than the husband? (3 points) ———

Answer each one of the remaining questions:

——— Are the husband and wife not equally religious? (NOTE: This does not refer to differences in church membership, but to the seriousness or indifference in the attitude of each toward religion) (1 point) ———

——— Are husband and wife *both* inactive in church work? (1 point) ———

——— Would you estimate husband and wife to be of opposite emotional make-up; that is, an introvert married to an extrovert? (See Chapter III) (2 points) ———

——— Are you unable to buy many things you feel you need? (1 point) ———

——— Are you sometimes uneasy when your mate is friendly with other people of your own sex? (1 point) ———

——— Did your social status change by your marriage? (1 point) ———

——— Are some in-laws a financial burden, or are you periodically irritated by them. (1 point) ———

——— Do you have differences of opinion in the training of the children, or are you oftentimes ———

irritated by the children themselves? (1 point)

—— Are differences in education a cause of occasional embarrassment or criticism? (1 point) ——

—— Is the cooking, serving or promptness of meals ever a source of dissatisfaction? (1 point) ——

The point value of an affirmative answer to each question is indicated after the question. Your total score is the sum of the point values of all questions you have answered "yes".

If your score on this rating scale is 4 or under you belong in Group A, the Most Compatible Group. If your score is from 5 to 8 you are in Group B. A score of from 9 to 12 places you in Group C. A score of 12 or more places you in Group D, the least compatible group.

CHAPTER VI

THINGS WHICH MAKE US ANGRY OR AFRAID

Some of the most amazing tales Sir Ernest Shackleton brought back from the Antarctic were those of polar animals that have no fear of men nor dogs nor horses. But this fearlessness of wild animals, which seems so surprising to most people, is a phenomenon not by any means restricted to the polar regions. Numerous other explorers, returning from wildernesses where the feet of men had never trod before, have brought back similar reports.

It is only actual experience with human beings that makes so-called wild animals become afraid of men. After they have been attacked by men and dogs, or charged by horses guided by men, they become fearful of men and will attack and charge in turn. It is memory, either conscious or sub-conscious, and not animal instinct, which governs their emotion of fear.

Explorers and pioneers in savage or semi-civilized countries have also often had the same experience with the native peoples. At first the exploring parties of white Europeans would be received with open-handed friendliness, perhaps accepted actually as gods. Later, when the newcomers, presuming on the trustfulness of

the natives, began to rob and kill or enslave them, the friendliness would change to fear and hatred. This occurred in North America, in the attitude of the Indians toward the white settlers. After a few years of contact with the methods of European civilization most redskins came to fear the white man as a natural enemy.

Almost exactly the same process takes place in the minds of individuals, as they grow from babyhood to manhood. Just as contact with human beings whose civilization has at least progressed far enough to include the art of hunting, teaches new fears to animals—just as contacts with a higher civilization than their own teaches new fears to savage tribes—so the increasing contacts of the growing child and later the grown man with the complex surroundings of our present-day civilization develop in him complex emotions of fear which were no part of his inborn instincts.

Man's superiority to animals is largely the result of his more highly developed emotions. Man is the only creature, for instance, who laughs (in spite of the reputation of the hyena and the horse). Man is also the only creature who is afraid of the sheriff or of the approaching end of the world. Emotions help make a man a man, and they are at the same time perhaps the most common cause of a man's undoing. The more highly civilized man becomes the more complex become his emotions, the greater his capacity for mental pleasure, and by the same token the greater his capacity for mental suffering.

Anger is another violent emotion which, like fear, is developed extensively by civilization. It is the civilized surroundings in which they live which in most cases make men fearful or make them hot-headed. Very peculiar and sometimes amusing phobias and irascibilities are developed in some people by their past experiences with the civilization around them. The most peculiar and amusing of all are likely to be those of which the sub-conscious origin is the most difficult to trace.

Why did Peter the Great have goose-flesh and tremble all over when he was crossing a bridge? What could have been done to help him overcome this handicap?

Why did De Maupassant, Bunyan, Tolstoy, fear death so that they trembled and perspired at the mention or the very thought of it?

Why did James VI quake visibly in his boots whenever he saw a drawn sword?

Why do some people, if they wake up frightened in the middle of the night, put on their hats before getting out of bed? I know people who do that. They say they feel much safer and more composed when so armed.

Of one thing we may be certain. Such emotional reactions as those we have just mentioned are acquired characteristics. They are not instinctive. Were it not for the effects of civilization on us only two things would make us afraid,—and only one thing would make us angry.

What we should fear

First, it is natural to be afraid when we hear an unexpected and loud noise.

That fear is born in us, not merely acquired as we grow up. The fear of thunder-storms which is so common, especially among women, is not fear of the lightning, but fear of the thunder, a perfectly natural fear caused by the noise. Through effort we can, of course, steel ourselves so that we simply tense our muscles a bit instead of jumping and trembling, but all of us who are not deaf feel some reaction to an unexpected peal of nearby thunder.

The crack of a pistol, the bang of a tire blowing out, the sudden screech of automobile brakes, the slam of a window in the middle of the night, are all natural causes of a natural and healthy fear.

Secondly, it is natural to feel fear at a sudden loss of bodily support. The beloved practical joker who surreptitiously removes the chair we thought we were going to sit on causes a natural fear reaction in us. When we are climbing stairs in the dark and try to climb one more step beyond the last one the mysterious lack of support under our advancing foot is a cause of natural fear.

The thrill of diving is simply this natural fear being put to work. The joyous thrill of the roller coaster is born the same way. The roller coaster is a good training-ground for emotions. When the noisy car starts dizzily for the ground from the summit of a curve, jerking the passenger into what seems like a vacuum,

it is natural for him to be seized with panic fear. But this same experience, looked upon through the lens of mental self-control, becomes an ecstatic thrill.

The deep-seated bodily changes in all emotional states are the same. Anger, fear, pain, suffering, grief, all are accompanied by the same glandular and other internal changes. It is the mental attitude alone which makes one of these emotions differ from the others. The roller coaster arouses these internal bodily changes in the blood vessels, intestines, and ductless glands. We may make those changes the basis for almost any emotions we want.

Some people get off the roller coaster weeping. Others are hilarious, others panic-stricken. Still others are so weak when the car stops that they cannot leave their seats. It is all in the passenger's attitude toward the experience. What a test for the control of one's emotions! I should recommend that everyone practice riding in the roller coaster until he can get off at the end of the steep and tortuous descent with cheeks flushed, eyes sparkling and heart joyous. Life is full of roller coaster experiences. Happy is the man or woman who learns to take them in his stride and come through smiling.

The latest rival of the roller coaster is the airplane. A ride in a plane is laden with terror for one who does not have his emotions under control. When the plane dips the sudden loss of bodily support leaves him gasping. It is a traditional trick of the trade for pilots to take up some loud-talking but really timorous "groundhog" for his first joy-ride in the air, and put

him through acrobatics until he is literally ill with fright. Yet for the individual who is cool-headed there is nothing quite to equal the enjoyment of riding in an open cockpit airplane. Airplanes, too, are going to be a good training-ground for emotions.

The two causes of fear we have just described are the only natural ones. But many of us also feel fear when we look down from the thirtieth story of a sky-scraper, when we see a reckless automobile careening toward us at high speed, or when we suddenly discover that someone has entered our room unheard. Those fears are not natural. They are acquired.

The fear felt by many dear ladies for beautifully colored garden snakes, for spiders, or for mice, is not a natural fear. That kind of fear again is developed by our civilization, for nature did not intend that we should be afraid of white mice or garden snakes.

Most of our present-day fears are not natural fears. To the psychologist that is a hopeful sign, for it indicates that we can master them more easily than we could if they had been born with us.

What should make us lose our tempers

There is only one natural cause of anger and the loss of temper. Yet there are literally such dozens of things that make modern civilized men angry that few would ever be able to guess correctly which is that one natural cause.

That one thing at which natural instinct makes us rebel and lose our tempers is the restriction of our

voluntary movements. It is easy to find homely everyday illustrations of this instinctive emotion. When you are removing a turtle-neck sweater, for example, as you get it pulled half-way over your head, for a few moments, just when you cannot see, your arms are pinned. For those few moments, if you are normal, you are likely to feel slightly panic-stricken. This is a natural fear that is almost inevitable. Even young infants exhibit this same reaction. Their dispositions may actually be spoiled if an unskilled nurse habitually dresses them in such a way that the young arms and legs are restrained from kicking and waving as joyously as their owner may like.

The dozens of things that make us angry in everyday life are things over which we have learned to lose our heads. Nature did not intend that we should become angry because we are insulted, because someone leaves the door open, because a friend teases us, or because a traffic cop bawls us out. These are situations where civilization has trained our emotions to go off at an inadequate stimulus.

What civilization has done to half of us

Although hardly any of these acquired forms of fear and anger can be called universal, many of them are so general that they affect at least fifty per cent of the population. The causes mentioned below have been found to cause emotional reactions in at least half of our young men and women, who on the whole have

slightly fewer acquired reactions of this sort than older people.

These things will frighten every other young man or woman:

To be riding in an automobile and barely escape a collision.

To look down from a high place.

To be barked at or growled at by a dog.

To come upon another person suddenly when they think no one is around.

To awaken at night and hear a sound, such as the window shade scraping against the curtains.

These things will make every other young man or woman angry:

To argue with them against something they think is really important.

To make a slighting remark about them.

To rebuke them in front of others.

To cut them intentionally.

To borrow things from them without asking permission.

To interfere with them when they are seriously trying to do something.

To disturb them at the theatre or at a lecture.

To shirk your duty so that they have to do a disagreeable task on your account.

To contrive to have them miss a street car, bus, or train by a narrow margin.

Phobias and violent anger

The states of fear and anger are both useful and dangerous. The absence of fear and anger under any

circumstances, even the most provocative, is a bad sign for one's mental health. And their arousal by what should be indifferent situations is also a bad sign.

An extreme fear is known as a *phobia.* These are intense fears which the individual can scarcely overcome. They take complete possession of his behavior when they are aroused. They are also less reasonable and rational than the types of acquired fear that we have just outlined. They are of endless variety and often seem to the normal person so lacking in any grounds as to become a form of outright insanity.

One high ranking army officer has an intense fear of open spaces. If he is in Washington and finds himself in DuPont Circle when there are only a few other persons around he becomes so fearful that he can scarcely move. He is a brave soldier and has many decorations, but has been handicapped for years by this "agoraphobia", intense and irrational fear of open places.

The wife of a certain bishop is the victim of another interesting but pitiable phobia. She is morbidly afraid of disease; this is known as pathophobia. For half a dozen years, although she has never been ill during that time, she has had a physician call at her house daily. If she sneezes once she will take to bed for three days and surround herself with hot water bottles. She carries an unusually large hand bag when she is away from the house, stocked like a small drug store. She has every symptom she reads about in the advertisements. If she trips over a small ledge while shopping she will hurry to the rest room, open her bag,

bathe her foot and ankle with arnica, and bandage it before going a step further.

This might almost amount to insanity but for the fact that there is no symptom outside of this one harmless phobia. It is simply an example, as are phobia cases in general, of how easily emotions take unreasonable possession of the unwary.

Other people tremble with fear at the sight of a sharp point. They have aichmophobia. Still others are seized with fright at the sight of water (potamophobia), or at the thought of blushing (ereutophobia), or even at the sight of money (metallophobia). Needless to say, this last phobia is one of the rarest known.

The phobias are closely related to kleptomania, the mania for stealing, and dipsomania, compulsive drinking. Although phobias are very intense emotions they are not nearly as dangerous as their names sound. In one sense they are merely interesting illustrations of how far some people have surrendered their self-control to their emotions. In another sense they are to be taken very seriously, since they indicate a tendency in the individual which must be checked before it grows even more exaggerated and becomes really dangerous. Although violent emotions may never result in any overt act of serious consequences to others, it is possible for the person affected to cause the bursting of a blood vessel through a sudden outburst of anger or seizure of fear. Rip Van Winkle's wife is one celebrity who is supposed to have died from such a cause, when she lost her temper at a peddler. Certainly much stranger things have happened.

Testing fearfulness and hot-headedness

Dr. George M. Stratton of the University of California has recently devised a check list to make an individual diagnosis of how fearful and hot-headed a person is over situations which nature intended should be indifferent in their emotional effect. This list of Dr. Stratton's (it is really two lists, one for fear and one for anger) has been adapted in the Colgate laboratory so that anyone without psychological training can make use of it. It is in the form of a questionnaire so framed that each "yes" answer reveals a tendency to an undesirable emotional display under certain circumstances, a lack of emotional control in a situation which should be neutral in its effects. This test is given complete at the end of this chapter.

On the questions dealing with fear young men are found to have slightly better control than young women. Older women have much less control than young women, while older men are a little better than young men, that is, they have fewer of these fears.

Women get worse in emotional control as they grow older, men get slightly better. This confirms earlier experiments along somewhat different lines which Professor Thomas McClumpha and Roswell P. Whitman have made in the Colgate laboratory.

On the questions dealing with anger young men and young women score alike. Older men are slightly worse than young men, older women about the same as young women.

Although women are worse than men in their fear

reactions, and become still worse as they grow older, in the case of anger reactions the sexes are about the same when they are in their early twenties, and after that age the men get worse than the women.

People who have been ill much have more "yes" answers to both sets of questions than people who have enjoyed continued good health. People who have more than the average number of "yes" answers are especially likely to have an increasing tendency in that direction as they grow older. In spite of the imposing variety of phobias which are developed by a few individuals, the emotion of fear in general is more likely to become weaker with advancing age than the emotion of anger.

Persons who are especially prone to give way to either fear or anger, as indicated by their reactions to such situations as described in these tests, are poor executive timber. Those who are hot-headed are usually cordially disliked by most of their acquaintances, and doubly so by those who may be subject to their tyrannical authority. Those who are especially fearful also make poor bosses. They reveal timidity rather than self-confidence, and as we shall see in our study of executive qualities in a later chapter timidity does not help to handle other people.

How fearful are you?

Answer "yes" for each question describing a situation which makes you feel moderate fear, or a quickening of the heart-beat or breathing, or merely timidity, as well as those which produce the more marked

symptoms of fear. The more marked symptoms, of course, are wild heart-beat, gasping for breath, trembling, a feeling of faintness, cold perspiration, or actual running away from the scene.

1. Are you frightened when you are in an automobile and barely escape a collision?
2. Are you frightened when you have to cross a street afoot with trolley and automobile traffic passing on each side of you?
3. Are you frightened when you are on a railroad platform and a train draws in close to you?
4. Are you frightened when you look down from a high place?
5. Are you frightened when there is an alarm of fire in your neighborhood?
6. Are you frightened when you hear a fire alarm anywhere?
7. Are you frightened when a dog comes toward you and barks or growls?
8. Are you frightened when you see someone else in an accident?
9. Are you frightened when you think no one else is around and then suddenly come upon someone?
10. Are you frightened when you have to go into an unlighted room after dark?
11. Are you frightened when you have to enter a dark house at night, even when you know someone is in the house?
12. Are you frightened when you are on a dimly lighted street at night and see someone coming toward you?
13. Are you frightened when you awaken at night in

your own room and hear sounds, such as a window shade scraping against the curtains?

(The average healthy young man answers "yes" to 4½ questions, the average young woman to slightly more, older women many more still, older men fewer than young men. A few persons answer "yes" to all the questions.)

How hot-headed are you?

Answer each question "yes" if in the situation pictured you feel irritated, if you want to make cutting remarks, if you have a tendency to frown, if your face flushes, if your breathing becomes irregular, if your muscles tense, or if you feel like attacking someone. A violent outburst, of course, requires an answer of "yes".

1. Do you get riled when you hear a friend criticized?
2. Do you get riled when someone argues with you about something you feel is really important?
3. Do you get riled when you learn that someone has made a slighting remark about you?
4. Do you get riled when you are rebuked before others?
5. Do you get riled when you think that an acquaintance has intentionally cut you?
6. Do you get riled when someone fails to keep an appointment with you?
7. Do you get riled when some of your possessions are borrowed without permission?
8. Do you get riled when you are persistently teased?
9. Do you get riled when music, talking, or the like,

interferes with you when you are trying seriously to do something else?

10. Do you get riled when you are at the theatre or some other public place and someone near you makes remarks or otherwise distracts you?

11. Are you riled when you have to do some disagreeable task because someone else has shirked his duty?

12. Are you riled when you are treated discourteously by the employee of some store or office?

13. Are you riled when a stranger jostles you and does not excuse himself?

14. Are you riled when you miss a street car, bus, or train by a narrow margin?

15. Are you riled when you have difficulty getting a telephone number, or when you are cut off in the middle of a conversation?

The average young man or woman has 9 "yes" answers. Older men have slightly more, older women about the same number. Some persons answer all the questions "yes".)

CHAPTER VII

SUITING VOCATION TO TYPE OF PERSONALITY

"WHY we don't like people" expresses succinctly the problems in one of the two great fields for the practical application in everyday life of our new knowledge of personality types—the social field. The other field is the vocational one, the problems of which might with equal aptness be summed up in the phrase "Why we don't like jobs".

These two fields often overlap in the life of a given individual, when business relations are developed into personal friendships and vice versa. For that reason it is impossible to consider the one as limited exclusively to business hours, the other exclusively to "leisure" hours. Yet the two aspects exist as twin problems in the life of every person save those few who are fortunate (or unfortunate) enough to have none but leisure hours.

The problem of securing the best adjustment of personality to social surroundings is purely the problem of the individual, except insofar as any social problem is also ultimately the problem of the community itself. The stake is the individual's happiness.

The problem of personality adjustment to vocational environment has, on the other hand, two faces of almost equal importance, the assurance of the hap-

piness of the individual and the improvement of his efficiency as a worker. These two desiderata are so interdependent that to promote one will at the same time promote the other. Thus the treatment of the problems of vocational adjustment is to a considerable extent similar whether approached from the point of view of the worker or from that of the large employer of labor.

The satisfactory personality adjustment of employees to their jobs is of immediate financial importance to large corporations whose payrolls run into the millions and whose profits depend largely on the productivity of labor and the efficiency of management. It is only as might be expected, therefore, that the first research work in personality adjustment has been done chiefly in the vocational field, and especially among industrial firms.

In the few years following the war a goodly number of firms took up psychological testing as an aid in hiring new employees and in assigning older ones to the work for which they were best suited. Unfortunately, some of these firms got their fingers badly burned. Now, in each instance of such failure which has come to my knowledge—and I know of enough cases to make me feel almost ashamed of our present psychological profession—the failure can be directly attributed to one unvarying cause. This cause has been the blind adoption of methods and ideas that had been found successful by other firms, without adapting these things *by experiment* to the conditions in the firm adopting them. So, plainly, one reason employment tests seem asinine in spots is because a few asses

have thought the tests would adjust themselves to anything as automatically as a snap gauge.

Tasks and routines as well as titles for different jobs vary from firm to firm. It is poor scientific as well as poor practical judgment for a business firm to try to apply general findings of other firms to a new set of circumstances without first making a critical experimental survey of their own successful and unsuccessful workers. This survey will show what tests work and what tests do not work in their own industrial set-up.

Selecting a career

In all practical work on the adjustment of personality to vocation it must be realized that it is of slight importance to set any relative valuation on the introvert, ambivert, and extrovert types. The vitally important aim is to have each individual placed in an occupation which will give him an opportunity to live his personality—provided, of course, that he has a healthy personality balance at the start. There must be a realization of the really best personality of the individual.

Vocational guidance should be an applied hedonism, making it possible for one to do what he likes to do—provided that subconscious likes are also taken into the reckoning, so that a complete picture of the individual is obtained. The isolated daily routine of housekeeping is more satisfying to the introvert than to the

extrovert, yet women of both types have to be housewives.

There is ample opportunity for the introvert, the ambivert or the extrovert to be his natural self and at the same time be successful at the professional level. In so far as all professions presume intensive educational preparation, the introvert has an advantage at the start in being more the student type. On the other hand vocational success at the professional level in many cases involves sales strategy, and in this the extrovert has the advantage after the diplomas are awarded. Some of the best professional skill is buried under apparent mediocrity because of a lack of natural, spontaneous salesmanship. To cite a contrasting situation, an extrovert physician not infrequently shocks his professional colleagues by his apparent failure to understand their vague code of ethics in obtaining patients.

When we turn to the industrial and business world we do not find the same ample opportunity for all. Except in one-man businesses, and at the upper executive level, it is usually either the introvert or the extrovert who has the most natural opportunity, the one for the details of manufacture and development, the other for the exploitation of the products the introvert has developed and manufactured. Danger lurks in this trend in our civilization. But it is not the danger which would arise from the sensitive introvert's resentment of the large earnings of a sales manager. The real danger, if I have viewed the scene correctly, is that the ambivert may find himself without a chance to be his

natural self or to find an outlet in his daily work, in this era of specialization, for his dominant personality traits. And most of us are ambiverts!

Vocational interests of personalities

A few scattered data now available give some indications of the general vocational tendencies of the different personality aggregates. For example, the following industrial data were secured through the cooperation of the Central New York Section of the Taylor Society:

Bench mechanics show no distinct grouping at either end of the scale, tending toward ambiversion.

Office clerks are not grouped closely, but are inclined toward introversion.

Foremen and executives whose duties require handling others are distinctly extrovert.

Inspectors, accountants, and research engineers are in general introvert.

Dr. V. V. Anderson reports that the best department store section managers "are primarily extrovert, while the best heads of stock are mildly introverted. The former are fundamentally interested in and are most effective with people. The latter are most highly specialized in materials and things." He also reports that department store cashiers are slightly introverted, sales clerks are extrovert or ambivert, and delivery drivers mild introverts, but should be free from daydreaming.

Reflection of the bearing of these personality trends

is also to be noticed in congenial groupings, such as successful partnerships, notably law partnerships. Here we often find opposites drawn together for mutual advantage, the introvert for careful preparation of case details, and the extrovert for court appearances and contact work. Only rarely, however, do we find a friendship in the real sense formed in such instances. The intercourse of the partners usually begins with, revolves around, and ends with business. It is as if they realized that economic advantage warranted their association in a partnership but that inner promptings did not favor the formation of a close friendship.

Springing from the inner emotional life, personality aggregates are both fluid and dynamic. Thus if unsuitable vocational surroundings deny them a chance to express themselves in the daily routines they seek other and indirect outlets, often with results which are disastrous to the personality.

"Unless you get a kick out of the job you're doing," advises Samuel M. Vauclain, "you'd better hunt another one." This is psychologically sound advice. Here are some actual cases which illustrate the point:

Louise had always had her heart set on an attractive office job where she would be in contact with stimulating people and do interesting things. Good extrovert longings. But upon her graduation from high school the best paying job that was offered to her was making change in a store. Since family income had to be considered, she took the best paying job. When she started to work she did fairly well, but could not get her mind off that nice office job she coveted, with its

interesting variety of tasks and the freer contact with other people. Gradually she began to develop inaccuracies which resulted in an occasional short till at the evening check-up. It became increasingly difficult for her to "hold her mind on the job". She began to fatigue and felt a growing dissatisfaction with her lot.

Cooped up, almost alone, in a repetitive job, it was little wonder that her extrovertive tendencies became thwarted and struggled for expression. Her entire make-up was on the verge of collapse when she was transferred to a sales job. She did not need rest nor medicine. A job which gave her variety and human company was medicine enough. Saved from serious personality cramping, she turned out a good sales clerk.

Alys was a case of another sort. She was a pretty girl twenty-two years old who had been employed in a department store for five years. She was promoted in the course of time to work where she had charge of other girls and had to assume more responsibility. As a marker she had done excellent work and was looked upon as promising. But in personality make-up she was emotional and introverted. When promoted she had to try to be another personality, to like authority, to boss others, to become aggressive, to be more active than in the old job which she had liked and which had been well suited to her personality. The headaches and fatigue which she soon developed were the revolt of that personality. When her nervous state became apparent she was changed back to her former job as

marker. There she became at once her old self again, entirely contented and well.

Adjusting personality to vocation

The cases just cited are two of many, many thousands. The work of Dr. Anderson shows that around 20% of the employees of one large mercantile institution are problem cases, usually personality problems. The figure is thus high in spite of the fact that this particular industrial organization far outstrips all others in the attention it gives to the study of employees' personalities.

This would indicate that other organizations have a still higher percentage of personality problems, although unaware of the fact. They realize that something is wrong with this or that worker, but they do not realize just what is wrong.

Records from firms scattered throughout the country indicate that about one-third of employee dismissals are caused by personality defects or maladjustment. This is probably a low estimate. When 3,000 discharged employees of a single large company were given close examination it was found that 62.4 per cent of them were dismissed because of personality maladaptation rather than because of lack of skill or training.

These data attest the general soundness of Mr. Vauclain's advice. But the truth of his pronouncement, even then, is not universal. It must be modified by the addition of three small but very significant words:

"You'd better hunt another job, *or change yourself.*"

As we have said, personality is fluid, dynamic. We can let the job which does not please us lick us, or we can lick the unpleasant job. It is easier to let the job do the licking. Hence the enormous number of cases of maladjustment of personality to occupation. But side by side with these are the enheartening cases of workers who spontaneously or with the help and guidance of others have successfully adapted their personalities to their environment.

And here we come to the second form of industrial application of our concept of personality types. The matter of choosing workers for definite jobs which will best fit their personalities will always be of prime importance. But due weight should also be given to what may be called personality guidance—aiding workers to adjust themselves to their jobs.

The habit of the old-fashioned foreman was to make his workers keep up to scratch by giving the laggard an unmerciful "bawling-out". There is no denying that by shouting through the department his belief of what was wrong with so-and-so he helped the victim's personality develop. The big trouble with his methods, from our modern viewpoint, is that they undoubtedly lowered production and morale. That is not the best technique for adapting personalities to their tasks.

Nowadays some firms take personality guidance so seriously that they have engaged outstanding specialists for this work at salaries which make the general manager irritated. The next step, which will possibly accomplish more, will be the general appreciation by

the average executive of his responsibilities and opportunities in smoothing the way for his subordinates who find themselves faced by difficulty in adapting their personalities.

With increased specialization in business, while the strain on intelligence is probably being lessened for the average person, the strain on personality realization is becoming more marked.

This strain on personality involves a give and take between work and worker. It can be lessened to some extent by a more careful selection of workers, based on definite personality surveys. It can be lessened further by personality guidance after the worker has been engaged.

The person of average intelligence, with a healthy personality, can usually make a fairly satisfactory personality guidance of himself. All he needs is to acquire an adequate background of information on which to base his findings.[1]

Scholarship and personality

Workers in the laboratory have discovered occupational differences in personality make-up. Is it not likewise probable that the occupation of "college student" requires a certain personality constitution as well as a certain minimum of intelligence?

Why some college students should win high scholas-

[1] Sections Four and Five of my book "Psychology and Profits" contain a great amount of illustrative industrial material on the guidance of one's own personality as well as the personalities of those working under him.

tic honors while others have to be dropped for failure in their studies is a question which has long perplexed educators and psychologists. Intelligence tests have given us some information on the reasons why certain pupils do not progress in secondary school subjects, but they have been found inadequate to predict success in college after preparatory courses have been completed.

As a result, personality factors as well as intelligence have been discussed as significant in scholastic work. Some berate the "speed of the age". Others blame home training. Still others decry the change from the old-fashioned curriculum. Everything from the commercialization of text-books to general debility of character is assailed by those who would appear to know. Those persons given to clear thinking, however, recognize the importance of the problem and urge its serious study. Dean Hawkes of Columbia University, for instance, calling attention to the fact that only 57 per cent of college freshmen ever graduate, has emphasized the need of additional scientific means for judging students before their matriculation in order to improve this condition.

Lack of mental ability is undoubtedly the reason why many students leave college. Some others of high intelligence break off their college work because of outside circumstances which are beyond the control or insight of the university. There was Henry F., who never liked college anyway. For him it was "not practical enough". He was fairly successful during his freshman year, but left college to accept work on

Wall Street. Then there was John F., whose father died while he was in school. John's mother could have supported him there, but she wanted her only child at home with her, so another promising college career was cut short. Any number of cases of this sort could be cited.

Tests which measure principally intelligence make a partial prophecy of a student's probable career on his road to a college degree. The effect of outside circumstances, such as those in the cases just described, can of course not be predicted by tests of any kind. Even if foreseen, they would be largely beyond control. But there are factors of mental equipment, outside of intelligence, which can and should be considered. Emotional handicaps, seriousness of interests, and favorable personality traits are among the attributes of the prospective student which are not recorded by intelligence tests.

To discover the influence of some non-intelligence factors on involuntary withdrawals of college students, the Colgate University Psychological Laboratory has undertaken one of the first studies of measurement of emotional factors, and the application of these measurements to the success and failure of undergraduates.

Freshmen entering Colgate are given a standard intelligence test and two Colgate Mental Hygiene Tests. One of the latter tests determines extroversion-introversion tendencies; the other records psychoneurotic traits. The Colgate tests provide a personality inventory or scale based on some 35,000 hours of work. We have studied the scholastic records of the classes of

1928 and 1929 at Colgate to discover possible causes other than intelligence for success or failure in college work.

Approximately three-fifths of those who failed were extroverts.

To find out how combinations of extroversion and introversion with high and low intelligence affected scholarship, the members of the two classes were divided into four groups as follows:

1. Those above average intelligence and introvert.
2. Those above average intelligence and extrovert.
3. Those below average intelligence and introvert.
4. Those below average intelligence and extrovert.

We have found that the last three of these groups have exactly the same proportion of failures, while the first group—those high both in intelligence and introversion—has less than one-half the proportion of failures of the other groups. It appears from this that a man may be either introvert or of above-average intelligence without reducing the probabilities of his failure, but if he has both of these characteristics together, then the danger is reduced by 50 per cent.

George L., for example, is intelligent with an extrovert make-up. He was dismissed from college because of his low grades, but was able to return because of the excellent work he could do when willing to try. He has now transferred to a law school, where he is doing very well. He is successful there because he is working at studies which appear practical to him. Cases like this seem to corroborate the work of Bear of Centre College, published in the December, 1926,

issue of *School and Society,* in which he reported that students interested in some profession made the better grades.

Ralph F. is both extrovert and of below-average intelligence. He has managed to stay in school, but only through unceasing labor. He has to drive himself incessantly to keep his mind on his books long enough to master the daily lessons. Despite his determination he frequently sits for long periods with his book in front of him, but with his thoughts on the athletic field. He wants to be doing something active. He cannot find an outlet for his extrovert make-up in reading and studying.

Benjamin S. represents the other extreme. He is both highly intelligent and an introvert. He has made an exceptional college record and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa at the end of his junior year. He has won prizes for scholarship every year during his course.

Students can also be divided into groups on the basis of the combination of psychoneurotic traits and introversion-extroversion, viz.,

5. Unstable and introvert.
6. Unstable and extrovert.
7. Stable and introvert.
8. Stable and extrovert.

Among the students who leave college because of failure there are twice as many of stable personality as there are of unstable personality. The concentration of failures is in group 8, which has twice as large a proportion of failures as any of the other three groups. Throughout the decile ranges of psychoneurotic traits

there is a consistently increasing tendency to failures among the extroverts as their psychoneurotic traits decrease. Fewest failures are among the unstable extroverts, most among the stable extroverts, with an even gradation between these extremes.

The "student type"

The opposite extreme from college failure is election to Phi Beta Kappa in recognition of outstanding scholarship. The man who wins a Phi Beta Kappa key is frequently regarded as peculiar—especially by those who do not earn a key. Many persons also have the idea that anyone who keeps his nose to the grindstone while in college can win this coveted honor—that it is a mark of the academic "grind". This attitude, of course, often smacks strongly of sour grapes.

Wishing to find the degree of justification of such opinions, and also to discover a means of predicting wearers of the key, we have made a study of the mental test records of the students elected to the Colgate chapter of the organization.

Twenty-five of those elected were above the campus average in intelligence, and nineteen of the group were more intelligent than ninety per cent of the student body. While the relationship between intelligence scores and college grades up to marks of high credit is never high, because of personality factors such as application, interest, and so forth, it may be seen from the above that high intelligence *is* apparently a determining cause of *extremely high* scholarship. In

fact the ten per cent of the student body which scored highest in intelligence tests has furnished practically all of the Phi Beta Kappa material. Not all of the students in this upper ten per cent, however, obtained grades sufficient to be elected. We shall soon see why not.

More than 90 per cent of Phi Beta Kappa men were above the average student in intelligence. Exactly the same ratio were above the average student in introversion. This confirms what one would expect anyway on *a priori* grounds, for the outstanding traits of the introvert are also those of the student. Among these introvert traits are close attention to details, conscientiousness, susceptibility to the favorable effects of praise, an inclination to work alone, liking for discussion, preference for intellectual interests rather than athletics. The opposites of these traits denote extroversion.

Neither high introversion nor high intelligence alone appears adequate to insure a Phi Beta Kappa grade of work. As previously noted, not all the introvert nor all the highly intelligent students are elected. The reason becomes apparent when we consider the cross-relations between these two psychological characteristics. The student body can be divided again, as in our study of college failures, into four groups of equal numbers, to wit:

1. Above average in intelligence, and introvert.
2. Above average in intelligence, and extrovert.
3. Below average in intelligence, and introvert.
4. Below average in intelligence, and extrovert.

Of the elections surveyed, 81 per cent were in group one. Eleven per cent were in the second group, eight per cent in the third group, and none in the fourth. It is apparently a combination of introversion and intelligence, rather than the possession of either of these characteristics alone, that distinguishes Phi Beta Kappa material, just as it reduces probabilities of failure. Judging from our data, a student in group two or three has slim chances of election, while a student in group four, extrovert and below the average in intelligence, has not a chance in the world.

Somewhat more than half of the Phi Beta Kappa group studied was of unstable or psychoneurotic personality. Personality instability becomes more significant, however, when we consider it in relation to the other traits. Stability or instability alone is not a significant factor. It is the unstable introvert, or the unstable highly intelligent student, who is most likely to reach high academic honor.

We are apparently justified in characterizing the so-called Phi Beta Kappa type, or superior student, as highly intelligent, introverted, and of unstable make-up. Educational administrators who wish to build up high scholarship might be wise to select students of this make-up as far as possible. Incidentally, this evidence also helps to explain why college professors, who must perforce be scholarly, are so distinctly different in type from executives, and why nervous breakdowns are rather common among them. They are, as a class, both introvert and unstable.

In the population as a whole there is only a random

relationship between these several psychological traits. It follows that only a small proportion of a student-body can reasonably be expected to possess them in combination. High scholarship, as both college teachers and athletic coaches have realized for a long time, is therefore likely to continue indefinitely the attainment of a privileged few.

CHAPTER VIII

TRAITS OF PERSONALITY WHICH BUILD LEADERSHIP

"THE trouble with you psychologists," the general manager of a large textile company told me, "is that you are giving too much attention to getting the right 'personality adjustment'—or whatever it is being called this week—in the routine worker or bench hand, and are neglecting almost entirely the executive. To get the right balance in your work on 'personality adjustment' you should give the most attention to the executives. They are the ones who are primarily responsible for an industry surviving or sinking."

And to a large extent he was right. I admit this in spite of the neatly expressed digs he gave to psychology in his seventy-five plain words. The executive must not only be properly adapted to those of his duties which concern himself alone, but he must at the same time have special ability to direct the work of those who come under his orders, maintain proper discipline, and secure the most efficient results from his whole unit. The inefficiency of a single man in an important executive position may cause enormous waste.

Outstanding in the modern emphasis on management is the emergence of the conception that the ex-

ecutive is not merely an order-giver but intrinsically a leader. The entire movement of foremanship training rests upon this newer conception. That most executives today are more than order-givers is demonstrated by their activities in civic affairs, where it is leadership rather than order-giving that is essential for group action. So far practically everyone agrees to this general conception, but as soon as someone raises the question of what traits make leaders there are many-sided arguments in store.

It is of paramount importance to know just what traits help build executive leadership. The individual executive is keenly interested in knowing this that he may further his own progress. The organization is as keenly interested in knowing so that it may select and develop executive material with greater certainty.

It is also a matter of common observation that executives of marked leadership may differ greatly in their personal qualities. One has only to compare Gerard Swope, president of General Electric, with Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., president of General Motors, to note how great this contrast may be. But may there not be traits basic for leadership which are obscured by contrasting the more obvious traits of personality?

We recently completed in the Colgate University Psychological Laboratory a survey of executive traits which indicates that there are definite "leadership" traits, which are not necessarily symptomatic of any one "personality type". The only theory underlying this investigation was that there are conceivably traits of working and thinking which further leadership in

industry and other traits which are handicaps to leadership. We also assumed that it is possible for those associated with executives to describe with some accuracy their methods of working and of managing their subordinates and associates.

For our preliminary surveys we selected traits such as "reputation for squareness", "hard work", "keeping confidences" and others which unquestioned leaders, in published interviews and autobiographies, have cited as vital in gaining and maintaining leadership. Almost a hundred traits were selected in this way for the early experimentation. These were later grouped into divisions under the explanatory headings of "Self-confidence", "Interest in People", "Reputation for Fair-play", "Organizing Ability", et cetera.

Here we had traits which were alleged to further leadership, grouped under somewhat consistent headings. How could we find out whether the separate traits had anything to do with leadership in actual industrial performance?

Through the courtesy of F. L. Rowland, then secretary of the National Association of Office Managers, the cooperation of the members of this group was obtained. Blank forms listing these alleged traits of leadership were prepared and a pair sent to each member of the association. He was requested to report on the two forms the traits of two sub-executives in his organization.

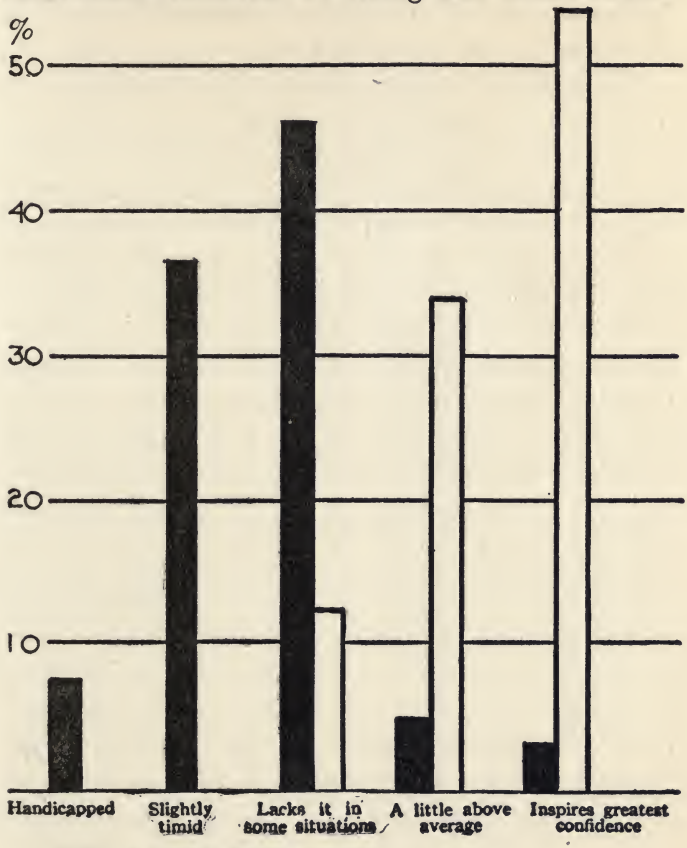
We gave careful instructions as to the method of selecting the two sub-executives on whom he was to report. One was to be selected because he appeared

to have outstanding leadership, sufficient to make the sky alone appear the limit of his progress with the company. The other was to be chosen because he plainly lacked leadership, and had reached his limit of progress as an executive with the company, except for the possibility of small raises due principally to length of service. The two men were to be apparently equal in other respects, both as to preparation and qualifications for executive work. They were to have had the same education, the same amount of sub-executive experience, the same opportunity to demonstrate leadership, and the same technical mastery of job details. By this method of selecting the pairs of executives for study we eliminated as far as possible the effects of any differences between two men which were not related to the traits in which we were making our comparison.

Executive promotion and personality

Sticklers for definitions may object that we cannot be certain that the strong member of each pair of executives really had leadership; that all we know is that his superiors thought he had it. And the stickler may be correct from the point of view of philosophical logic. But to consider this selection from the point of view of a pragmatic philosophy, we have chosen as typical leaders individuals whose superiors would promote them to greater responsibility and remuneration. Whether they really had intrinsic leadership or not they at least did have something within them for which

SELF-CONFIDENCE in Strong and Weak Leaders.



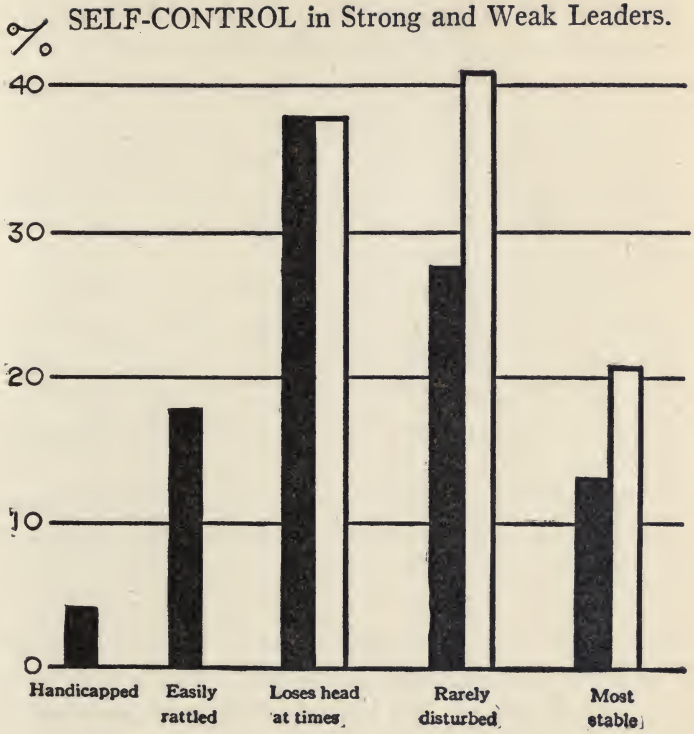
.....Solid bars, weak leaders.
.....Open bars, strong leaders.

How the personality traits vital for leadership were discovered. The height of the bars shows the percentage of each group with the characteristic indicated at the bottom of the bar. The open bars are for the strong leaders, the solid black bars for the weak leaders. This chart shows, for the trait of impressing others as having self-confidence, that there is a significant difference between the weak and strong leaders.

business was willing to pay a premium; so we can compromise with the logicians by calling it effective leadership as contrasted with an ideal leadership.

This study was not conducted as an inquisition for purely abstract scientific goals. In addition to serving for the discovery of a list of practical traits which build leadership, the individual items were so worded that they should point out to an executive those traits which he could develop and which were probably related to greater leadership. The aim was not so much to develop a test for selecting leaders from within an organization as to permit a diagnostic analysis of the individual's leadership, throwing into relief those traits which he should develop or alter. For this reason abstract intelligence was not included. Other work has shown that leaders usually are distinctly above the average in intelligence, but since we do not yet know any way to develop intelligence itself this obviously did not come within the province of a survey which was designed to find a practical basis for directing efforts at self-improvement. The aim was to diagnose traits which the individual could reasonably be expected to be able to alter without the aid of mesmerism or hypodermic injections.

Many pet theories were upset by the comparative study of the weak and strong leaders. Weak and strong executive leaders do not differ essentially in the warmth of their interest in other people. There was no marked difference, either, in the reputation for fair play of one group as compared with the other. To avoid any wrong impression from that statement it



.....Solid bars, weak leaders.
.....Open bars, strong leaders.

Contrasted with the preceding chart, this shows no distinguishing difference between weak and strong leaders in self-control.

must be said that both groups had a reputation for fair-play above that of the average individual. You have to "shoot straight" to become even an ordinary executive.

The group showing marked leadership had a slight advantage in applying themselves more seriously to their work, and working more steadily, but this advantage was not marked enough to be included in a final rating scale. Apparently being a leader involves more than simply hard work.

Self-control—the ability to keep calm and level-headed under trying conditions—also appeared to have little relation to leadership. As a matter of fact the strong leaders were reported as more likely to show anger than the weak leaders. The weak group also showed slightly more patience.

There was no trustworthy degree of difference between the two groups in their ability to appreciate a humorous situation or to inject an element of humor into a tense situation. Neither had a more prominent attitude of pride toward good work. Neither group were distinctly more agreeable than the other. The unavoidable conclusion is that none of the characteristics mentioned should be given undue consideration in selecting or developing men for leadership.

Personality of strong leaders

The outstanding general traits which characterized the executive of strong leadership were: the impression of self-confidence which he gives; his ability to

organize and deputize the work under his direction; general business judgment and aggressiveness; his foresight in anticipating future developments and thinking about job details in a constructive way; his knowledge of the details of his present job; his skill in developing and placing his subordinates; his success in stimulating the interest of his associates in their work; his willingness to assume responsibility and ability to carry it; and his soundness and speed in reaching decisions.

This is rather a different picture of the executive or leader from that which one would get from literary sources. Although they may conceivably help him, it is not the human or the pleasing qualities of personality which have made the leader. As a matter of fact practically half of the group of executives showing marked leadership suffered from the following qualities which are generally regarded as drawbacks: noticeable dislike of some of their associates, hot temper, tendency to argue, ignorance of home conditions and personal troubles of fellow-workers, failure to inspire confidence in subordinates which would lead the latter to seek their advice. They also bragged more, were a bit more vulgar, and somewhat more likely to interrupt others, than the members of the weak group.

These details are not cited to make the leader appear at a disadvantage. They simply lend emphasis to the conclusion that neither toadying to others nor possessing a pleasant personality builds leadership unaided.

The essence of leadership consists in doing a good

job of direct leading, not off-side leading. The following specific traits, which were found the most important in executive leadership, bear out that statement:

Delegating responsibility and doing it wisely.
Sizing up accurately an individual's capacities for work.
"Selling" workers on the importance of their particular jobs.
Keeping a group working for a common goal.
Having a voice that suggests confidence.
Liking to make decisions.

Next in importance to the specific traits just listed are:

Making clear-cut assignments.
Saving duplicate effort.
Looking for new and improved methods.
Planning ways to save fatigue.
Reading widely about one's work.
Expressing opinions without apologizing for them.
Being free from prejudices.
Accepting criticism cheerfully.
Keeping up one's spirits when things go badly.
Encouraging and accepting suggestions from subordinates.
Arousing competition among the workers.
Mixing easily socially.
Judging price values well.
Praising good work without becoming flattering.
Criticising constructively without antagonizing.
Trying to make reasons for orders understood.
Keeping a firm hold on difficult situations without becoming unreasonable.

Being able to concentrate under difficult circumstances.
Assuming responsibility for one's own blunders.
Using facts in reaching decisions.
Examining one's decisions critically before accepting them as final.
Making decisions quickly, but without "going off half-cocked".

Specific traits of least importance in determining executive leadership, but worthy of serious consideration, are:

Making people feel at ease when talking with them.
Being consistent in dealings with people.
Keeping watch of competitors.
Keeping in touch with job practices as performed elsewhere.
Having a high sense of right and wrong without being "preachy".
Looking people squarely in the eye.
Treating all alike, regardless of race or creed.
Enjoying a good joke.
Avoiding obstinacy.
Enjoying the possession of authority.

Plainly it is not the "Hail fellow, well met" who is the typical executive leader. He may gain a following which is dazzled by his personality, but that should be called followership rather than leadership.

Can the traits of the leader be cultivated?

"Most men need leadership," says Samuel Vauclain, "yet true leaders are hard to find." It is likely that the

reason they are hard to find is because few of them are born leaders. To a large extent their ability as leaders is developed by practice. It is true that abstract intelligence is largely inborn, and abstract intelligence usually is found with leadership. But not all persons of great abstract intelligence are leaders, by any means. Inborn intelligence must be combined with these traits which can be deliberately developed. Then an outstanding leader is likely to be the result.

That the traits we have analyzed can be intentionally developed is shown by the experience of J. C. Penney of chain store fame. When he saw his chain idea developing into national proportions Penney read assiduously and cultivated many of these traits. Over an extended period he devoted half of each day to this self-analysis and cultivation. John J. Raskob, vice-president of General Motors Corporation, affords another illustration. Back in the early 1900's, while in the steel business in Nova Scotia, Raskob was consuming books in similar fashion to prepare himself for increased responsibilities. What he sought from them was the means to true mastery of those working under and with him—not merely a personality mastery.

Some surveys have been made of the physical traits of outstanding leaders. These have shown that usually they are above the average stature, that they are married, that they have children, etc. These, obviously, are only off-side symptoms of indirect leadership, and do not touch upon fundamental traits which affect the ability to manage people as a leader. Some other surveys have been made of the states of birth and oc-

cupation of parents of those individuals listed in "Who's Who". Again such surveys are dealing with off-side traits which are probably not directly causative in determining leadership. There is also the question whether having written a book, and thus entering "Who's Who", is a mark of ability to lead others. Even should the facts surveyed have some influence, there would remain the depressing fact that the individual can hardly find means to improve his chances by engineering his own birth in a different state or inspiring a change in his future father's occupation.

Some remedies for weak leadership

The individual executive should find considerable practical value in the suggestions which the reporting executives made for strengthening various general traits.

The following suggestions were given for improving the impression of self-confidence which one gives to others:

"Must build up his courage to say no when he knows he should."

"Walks too slowly."

"So 'cock-sure' that he gives the impression of being a bluffer."

"Unwilling to go ahead on his own initiative."

"Should talk a bit louder."

"Should be more aggressive."

"Should improve his knowledge."

"A course in public speaking would help him."

"Should talk to listener rather than to ceiling."

Suggestions on strengthening organizing ability were:

"Should turn more of his routine over to clerks."

"Study management problems for once."

"Consult others more."

"Should attend meetings of management societies."

"Should size up abilities of his associates better."

"Should be less reluctant to fire a poor worker."

"Too fussy about unimportant details."

"Needs to vision future problems more."

To strengthen commercial attitude the following recommendations were made:

"Too academic—should go on the road once a month."

"Needs training in costing."

"Should modify his too-altruistic attitude."

For the development of constructive thinking we find the following suggestions:

"Should read more and consult associates more."

"Has gone bugs on a few fads, and neglects the total problems."

"Has been too removed from job details to have basis for constructive thinking."

"Thinks more about work of others than of his own."

"Graduated from college and thinks they taught him all there was to know."

"Gives too much thinking to outside activities."

Placing and developing workers could be improved as follows:

"For once praising or condemning his workers."

"By not stealing all the credit himself."

"Get more intimate association with other executives."

"Stop having workers transferred to other departments and try developing them himself."

"Do a little time study so he could give more reasonable work assignments."

For stimulating interest in work these suggestions were made:

"Show some enthusiasm himself once in a while."

"Overdoes flattery."

"Must overcome partiality in salary revisions."

"Should discover who best workers are and use them as standards."

"Too conceited."

To inspire confidence:

"Stop dissipating."

"Talk faster."

"Talk less about business to outsiders."

"Not exaggerate so much in everyday matters."

"Stop making promises he cannot live up to."

"Stop asking for help on every little new problem."

These comments were made in reference to the strengthening of reserve:

"Laughs too loud and needlessly."

"Too much inclined to indulge in horse play."

"Tells too many of his own troubles—almost like a drunk."

"Too kind-hearted and easy."

"Toadies too much to his superiors."

"Slaps too many people on the back."

"Too friendly with everyone."

"An expert buck-passer."

"Avoids ordinary responsibilities if possible."

The group of marked leadership ability were more like each other than the weak group. This was a notable tendency found in almost every record of the strong group. Individuality was characteristic of the weak leaders. Uniformity was characteristic of the strong leaders. This suggests that there may be techniques and attitudes which contribute greatly to leadership in a somewhat uniform fashion. It points toward the existence of a "leadership type". Individuals such as the presidents of General Motors and General Electric would thus appear to be exceptions to the general rule.

We have not yet had a perfect score made on our scale. The highest possible score is 128. The highest we have marked up for an actual executive is 126. This executive failed to obtain the maximum for only two items. He does not make people feel at ease around him, and he is prejudiced in handling others because of religion and nationality. But both of these items on which he was penalized are among the least significant of those on the scale.

The typical executive of marked leadership had on the average ten specific traits which were in need of correction. This is slightly more than 25 per cent of the specific traits studied.

If the total score experimentally developed really measures executive leadership—and it probably does

—then the "weak leaders" of 10 per cent of the firms studied are better than the "outstanding leaders" of the average firm. Western firms especially were found to have "strong leaders" about on a par with the "weak leaders" of the average firm represented. South of Knoxville and west of Toledo leadership seems to fall off.

Every one of the forty-odd traits which were found to differentiate the strong leader from the weak leader have a two-fold significance.

First, they are all traits which one can develop. They indicate rather strongly that leadership is not necessarily inborn. They make it probable that the stronger leaders have achieved their superiority by accidentally, or perhaps intentionally, developing these favorable traits. Their nature substantiates our faith in programs for developing executives.

Second, practically all of these traits bear directly upon the job functions of an executive. The possession of an agreeable personality does not make an executive a good leader. His ability to impress workers with the importance of their jobs, on the other hand, does have an important influence. The essence of executive leadership consists in a thorough mastery of the definite functions of the job itself.

Leadership can be intentionally developed. And on a scale never before known American industry *is* developing it today.

CHAPTER IX

HOW BIASED ARE YOU?

VERY few people have assurance enough to pick a mess of mushrooms in the fields and eat them, or mix a drink for themselves from the bottles on the drug store shelves. They have sense enough to understand that it takes study and expert knowledge to know the poisonous from the edible "toadstools" or the harmless from the dangerous drugs.

But most of us have no hesitation in shouting our opinions on matters just as technical where we are no more qualified to judge. We sign petitions, applaud half-baked ideas, vote for ill-judged political nostrums and support movements we do not understand.

We have strong opinions on such things as the guilt or innocence of criminals, the justice of penalties, or the wisdom of laws, moral codes, national policies or political programs, but we have really not examined the facts. Furthermore, it has been shown that our opinions and beliefs are largely a matter of where we live, what our neighbors think, and what business we are in. In other words, there can be no doubt that as a rule most of us do not know what we are talking about most of the time.

The university investigations of our soundness of

judgment recently made by the psychologists of Johns Hopkins, Chicago, Texas, Syracuse and other universities, were based upon quizzes of thousands of students as to what they thought the worst possible crime or offense, the next in badness and so on. Various questionnaires were used, all somewhat similar to the one reproduced at the close, which was designed especially to aid interested readers in making a fair estimate of their own degree of possession of the quality of sound judgment. And the verdict is that, no matter how just and fair-minded we strive to be and think we are, only a surprisingly small percentage of us are really sound and free from prejudice, fixed notions and emotions in judging.

Bias in love and marriage

Curiously enough, the students had their own ideas on crime and punishment and with amazing frequency they varied widely from those expressed in the law books. For example, Dr. Knight Dunlap, Johns Hopkins, found that the majority of college men regard criminal assault as a worse crime than murder; that most college men hold betrayal of an innocent girl to be a more serious offense than do women, and that, on the other hand, college women believe marital unfaithfulness to be much more blameworthy than do men.

Dr. A. P. Brogan found a majority of men students at Texas believed in the justice of the so-called "double standard"—namely that illegal love is more to be punished when practiced by women than by men. At

Chicago, however, the masculine majority believe precisely the opposite, staunchly subscribing to the old adage, "What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander." In general, Southern students voted illicit love a less serious offense on the part of men than did Northerners. On the other hand, Southerners considered Sabbath breaking a considerable lapse while Northerners were inclined to dismiss it as a mere peccadillo.

Here, surely, is a wide and astonishing diversity of ideas on right and wrong, especially in view of what law has to say on the subject. Yet, as scientists point out, the result but mirrors an even greater variety of judgments on crime, and offenses of all kinds among persons outside the universities. Consider, for instance, the reaction of individuals you know to the recent widespread demand—in many quarters it rose to riotous clamor—that Tom Mooney, convicted California bomb murderer, be set free. Opinion as to what should be done with Mooney varied not only among individuals but from neighborhood to neighborhood and community to community. Here, he was guilty and should have hung years ago. There, he should be kept in jail for life, whatever was the truth as to his guilt. On this soap box he was innocent and should be unconditionally pardoned; and in that petition the whole record against him should be wiped out and the poor fellow recompensed for his cell-wasted years.

Similar almost hysterical diversity surrounded the famous Sacco and Vanzetti case some years ago in Massachusetts, and to-day hangs over the so-called Scottsboro case, in which seven young negroes await

execution in Alabama—unless courts and executive clemency intervene—for an alleged assault on two white girls. Of course, not one in a million who shouts Tom Mooney's innocence or is certain he is guilty knows what he is talking about. Nor do the enthusiasts in South America and in Paris, who are at this moment demanding that the seven Alabama negroes be turned loose, have any real knowledge of the facts.

Look where you will, you find a variety of illustrations of the same unreasoned opinions. Among gangsters to "squeal" is a greater crime than to kill; among many financial promoters a lying prospectus is no crime at all; "dry" convictions come easy in Kansas, and hard in New York.

Are we afraid of the truth?

But that is not the most discouraging side of the picture. Science is aware that the great mass of the people are really not interested in knowing the facts. For one reason or another most people's minds are so conditioned and fixed in advance that they are not capable of accepting the real truth when it is offered. The French artist Faugeron has depicted this very well in his painting, "The Naked Truth," where he shows the crowd turning aside rather than welcoming the true facts. Furthermore, thinking is a painful process for many, and thus it is that multitudes of people find it easier to swallow the propaganda or half-baked assertions of political demagogues and soap-box orators rather than do any real thinking of their own.

All this is the more astounding because, in general, we all agree that law and convention is the will of the majority, that without law, courts, jails and sentences neither our persons nor property would be safe. On the whole, laws arise out of what majorities hold to be necessities. There is the necessity of life protection, hence the death penalty against murderers. In early Western days, there was necessity of protection for a man's horses in the wilderness plains, hence approval of death at the rope's end for horse thieves. The penalties for major crimes, murder, burglary, larceny, assault, forgery, etc., all have stood the test of time, proving themselves indispensable for the preservation of society—the same test, incidentally, which seemingly is proving the dry law and its penalties inexpedient.

Where we get our bias

All this being so, how does it come then, the scientists wondered, that as individuals and groups we take such varied—such amazingly varied—attitudes, particularly toward crimes and offenses as to which, under law and conventions, there can be but one sound attitude? Of course, they don't weigh the evidence—but why? There is the point, for, says science, except in the exceptions, their mental life, or their lack of knowledge of their mental life, won't let them.

But why is this so among "intelligent" people? Well, in the first and perhaps most important place, the recent university research clearly indicates that a boy or girl may go through college—to say nothing of high

school—without having his basic personal judgment on crimes, codes, issues and such changed an iota. That is, his or her basic convictions tend strongly to remain through life those of the community in which he or she spent boy or girlhood rather than those incubated in the college halls. Like most of us in after life, aver the scientists, the college boy continues as a rule to judge as the boyhood home folk did, no matter where or into what different conditions of life or law he goes. No matter how just he or the rest of us think ourselves, the odd fact is that in the majority of cases we cling in our judgment to these impressions—the gangster son to the gangster code, the crooked financier to the crooked financier's code, the evangelist's offspring to the evangelist's emotional platform; but we do not realize it.

The investigation evidenced a general relation between the views of the student and the views of the section from which he came, the writer himself having observed that students from the South and West seem more apt to regard honesty, for example, as a personal thing independent of outside influences, where those from the vast cities like New York and Chicago are more likely to look upon honesty in the light of the Golden Rule—in other words, to say, "I'll be honest with you if, and only so long as, you are honest with me."

When we must pass judgment upon a current issue, such as the Mooney case, unless we guard against it, our ingrained prejudices, hates and the like may inundate our minds with emotional conviction to such an extent that all our impulse to be rational and just,

if any, and to view all the evidence before decision, is swept down the mental gutters.

Much bias merely self-defense

Yet while early influence may be the broadest general cause of our frequent individual inability to free our judgment from prejudice, notions and emotions, psychologists find others just as insidiously effective, and against which we should be equally on guard. Crucial conflicts with life conditions around one also build up personal attitudes toward crime and other issues that prevent clear-headed consideration and decision. Take an example from prohibition. Suppose a man had been a heavy drinker for years when the law passed, and could not stop without injuring his health or changing many life habits. What effect would it have upon him? In general, he would adopt one of two attitudes. He would refuse to regard drinking as a crime, either in himself or others, or, tending perhaps to be sadistic or cruel, or disgruntled with his inability to conquer his habits, he would become an ardent, even tyrannical "dry," even though he might continue to drink in secret.

Likewise, tempted, let us say, into financial irregularities, bribery or political corruption among other offenses, one comes either to tolerate these offenses in others as not truly serious, or, on the contrary, to become equally fanatical in denouncing them. The reason for these attitudes, of course, traces to our own inherent instinct for self-preservation. On the one hand, we seek to protect ourselves by bringing others to adopt the

same standard we have adopted, or on the other we seek to protect ourselves by driving out of the world—and incidentally depriving others, as in the case of prohibition—of things which we have been unable to handle and which therefore have injured us. In any case, victims of such inner emotional drives, as psychologists call them, are made by them incapable of calm, factual judgment on any issue involving their inner failings and struggles—unless they have exceptional ability to analyze themselves and, spotting their prejudice, throw it out of their thinking.

Often, too, our soundness of judgment is betrayed by such things as hero worship, fear, deprivation, injury, riches, poverty—even love. Not long ago the writer was surprised to see a young friend receive a card from a New York organization raising funds to get Tom Mooney out of that gloomiest of prisons, San Quentin. Yes, this friend admitted, he had subscribed to the fund; it was horrible the way they were keeping "that man, Mooney," in prison. Talking about it, he grew pale and nervously clenched his hands.

Puzzled, I remarked I hadn't known he was interested in the Mooney case. He wasn't, he said, until the other night when he happened by Union Square in New York and there, amid the jobless men sleeping on the soil, heard a soap-box orator describing Mooney's "horrible plight." Mooney's plight was sad, I observed, but I couldn't see what it had to do with the question of his guilt; had my friend read the evidence against him to see whether he deserved his punishment? He flushed, looked at me oddly, and said, "No."

The expression on his intelligent face told me plainly enough that he had let his intense sympathy for the poor and suffering sweep into the Mooney fight, that he had acted without the sound investigation essential to good judgment, and that he was now sorry. I said no more. Again, I overheard a woman remark as she came out of the flag-draped office where she signed a petition for payment of the soldiers' bonus in full; evidently explaining her action to a friend, she said, "Nothing is too good for the veterans." Obviously, she had backed the bonus without study of the Patman or any other bill; perhaps, she never even heard of the Texas Congressman or his proposed measure.

Fear-born prejudices

And in the same way have I seen unreasoning fear drive a business man who would profit by it into downright opposition to recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States. How orators for such things as the abolition of capital punishment, or Wall Street "short selling," make persons incapable of thought, to say nothing of judgment, is another example of the same thing, that no one these days need go far to witness.

Another constant enemy of sound judgment is the sway of personal interests. Their influence, though often we refuse to recognize them openly, works subtly to emotionalize our thinking and so preclude our reaching sound judgments on public questions and crimes. You see men who approve the alimony laws and punishment under them—until forced to pay themselves.

Then the law, formerly held to be a communal good, often becomes in their minds akin to thirteenth century inquisition.

Just so, sudden poverty will drive a man to support without other thought or examination any "soak the rich" legislation; and sudden riches turn a radical socialist against such measures as the British type of unemployment insurance. In either case what determines the opinion and decision is not sound judgment as to the communal good of the legislation, but simply emotional self-interest—and the worst of it is that this self-interest all too often hides behind a façade of false sincerity and specious, purposely dishonest argument, preventing sound judgment not only in its victim but in others.

To a psychologist, any group of persons presents a kind of scale. There is one person, say, whose judgment is most free from fixed notions, prejudices and emotions, and another whose judgment is least so. In between are persons who have, let us say, one or more pet prejudices or fixed notions. In other words, there are persons though few, who are capable of sound, sane judgment on anything; persons who have one or more aspects of life, or issues, upon which they cannot, because of prejudices, etc., make a clear-headed, well-balanced judgment; and there are emotional persons who cannot judge soundly of anything. Fill out honestly the accompanying questionnaire and you should gain a fairly good insight into your own general ability to judge issues fairly and honestly, and also whether or no there are certain important current issues on which

you have expressed strong opinions, although, as a matter of fact, you really did not know what you were talking about.

Unless You Can Honestly Answer "YES" to the Last Portion of Each Question Your Opinions Are Very Likely Worthless. Skip Any Question on Which You Do Not Have a Strong Opinion.

Check here if answer is "Yes"		Check here if answer is "No"
——	If you believe in or denounce the so-called "double-standard" of morals for men and women in matters of love and marriage, have you taken the trouble to acquaint yourself with both sides of the question?	——
——	Do you believe that fish is or is not a better brain food than bacon and is your opinion based on knowledge of the scientific evidence?	——
——	If you are for or against vivisection, is it after you are aware of how experiments are made on animals and what discoveries of value to human life have been made by this method?	——
——	If you signed petitions to pay the soldier bonus in full by issuance of $2,000,000,000 in new currency, had you studied the opinions of economists and financial experts as to whether this procedure would help or harm the country as a whole, including the veterans?	——
——	Do you believe that Tom Mooney, convicted California bomb murderer, should or should not be pardoned? If so, have you read the	——

evidence on both sides and did you really ascertain all the facts?

—— If you joined one way or another in the protests against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, Italian labor agitators convicted of murder, was your attitude based on an exhaustive study of the record in the case? ——

—— If you are an advocate of or set against Unemployment Insurance such as is operative in England, and has been roundly denounced in the United States as a "dole," do you base your opinion upon a study of the British system, its history, procedure, cost and results? ——

—— If you favor or are against recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States, have you dispassionately gone into the probable effects such action might have upon your own country and its form of government? ——

—— If you are a "Wet" or a "Dry" is it a result of reading, for example, the full report of the Wickersham committee, the annual figures for "dry" law arrests, the opinions of leading lawyers on the effect of the law on crime conditions, etc.? ——

—— If you attended meetings where speakers favored war or other form of intervention by the United States in the recent Sino-Japanese conflict, and if you joined or disapproved such advocacy, did you take such action after fully considering the arguments for and against intervention? ——

—— If you are in favor of capital punishment, or are opposed to it and have joined societies ——

seeking its abolition, is it with understanding of the history, purposes and comparative results of such a policy on man's eternal fight against crime?

CHAPTER X

YOUR FEELINGS OF INFERIORITY

SCIENCE, forever searching out causes of unhappiness and failure with a view to ousting them, is increasingly focusing attention upon the mysterious but definitely harmful part feelings of inferiority—or lack of confidence—usually unrecognized by their victims, play in many of our lives. Perhaps the best indication of how widely acknowledged the evil has become is that psychoanalysts, or mental healers, as they are sometimes called, have reaped fortunes lately for spotting such feelings in individuals and casting them out by the modern magic of personal analysis—a process which, beneficent as it sometimes is, seems oddly akin often to the rites with which primitive people believed they could cast out devils.

How prevalent these baleful inferiority feelings are among people in general, their origin, how they work and what can be done about them, are being investigated at the Colgate Psychological Laboratory, for one place. At other places other scientists are tracking down previously unrecognized inferiority feelings in the minds of students, professors and others, and much interesting and enlightening information is being brought to light.

A summary of results thus far, compiled especially for The American Weekly, indicates startlingly that only a small percentage of persons completely escape the bad effects of this inferiority blight; that while in some cases these adverse effects are temporary, in others they are lifelong; and that fully fifty per cent, if not more, of us are positively handicapped by them. Curiously enough, history tends to confirm these provisional findings by naming, among others, Abraham Lincoln, Napoleon, Kaiser Wilhelm, Newton, the scientist, and Nietzsche, the philosopher, as having been among the victims.

Going back still further in history, we have the instance of Demosthenes, pre-eminent among the old Greek orators. As a youth his ambition was to be a public speaker and sway the multitudes, but he was afflicted with a disability which made him speak with a lisp, and in feeble tones. But he determined to rise above this manifest physical disability. He placed a pebble under his tongue to overcome his lisping, and he paced the seashore exercising his voice until his tones could be heard above the roar of the waves.

Most feelings of inferiority groundless

By feelings of inferiority, of course, is meant the unhappy thought that one is not, by decree of nature, birth, fate or what not, as able, as intelligent, as brave or otherwise as worthy as those around him. Were these feelings the result of sound, sensible checking up of qualities, they would be by no means harmful. But

that is just what they are not. On the contrary they are vague, mysterious mental attitudes wherein, without clear self-analysis or understanding, one becomes convinced that he or she is "born wrong," not so good, or no good, and as a result does not try to do his or her best. Sometimes the victim discovers by accident how false and unsound his estimate of himself may be; sometimes he undergoes an examination, the physician drags out his self-doubt, gets at the root of his trouble and manages to straighten out his picture of himself.

But in many cases the victim who does not come to see these inferiority feelings for the frauds they are goes through life in a state of self-doubt, uneasy, inefficient and never satisfactory to himself or his associates. This last situation is all the more tragic, as science points out, because the victim may possess undiscovered or undeveloped talents and abilities superior to any possessed by those with whom he comes in contact. His general lack of confidence keeps him from putting himself into positions where his true worth would come out.

Thus the question of self-confidence becomes of paramount importance. Every normal person has a good measure of confidence, says science; or at any rate should have. And the lack of it implies feelings of inferiority, or, as it is called, "an inferiority reaction." Hence, the questionnaire which accompanies this chapter was designed to enable one to discover how much self-confidence he possesses, as evidenced by daily traits and actions, or action habits. The next step, of

course, would be, in case a subject was lacking in self-confidence, to find out whether he really had valid reason for such self-doubt or whether his trouble was just another inferiority complex.

The short-change in human nature

Each individual is like a hand of cards—he has long suits and short suits. Each one is fitted, leaving hopeless cripples and insane folk out of the reckoning, for some particular business or activity. None is 100 per cent perfect in everything, nor 100 per cent imperfect. Patrick Henry could not write, and Washington Irving was tongue-tied as an orator. Thus it follows that as a matter of pure reason—such disturbing and unreasonable factors as inferiority complexes aside—*each individual is superior to great numbers of his fellows in some particular thing.*

Since everyone can demonstrate some born or acquired superiority, why should anyone feel himself inferior to the point of allowing this bitter disappointment to blacken or even to ruin his life? He shouldn't, says science, but should set about discovering just what he can do to best put that ability to work and through service to himself and others with it make himself a place in the world. Satisfaction and pride in his work would inevitably result, and he would have no time for such mental fevers as inferiority feelings.

Sooner or later the business of living puts almost all of us into a position where we might become victims of inferiority feelings. Often they arise from efforts to

fit ourselves into the world about us. A law student who ought to be studying art is quite certain to face discouragement.

When we try too much

It is like this: We decide we should like and ought to be this or do that. We try repeatedly to accomplish our aim, but we are rebuffed, and we fail repeatedly. We become discouraged and moody. Some of us—and to the Colgate investigators it is a great many of us—give up the fight. We go around embittered and hurt. And right here the inferiority feeling creeps in; it whispers you can't do that, you aren't any good! Those other birds have got something you haven't, that's all. And in severe cases the victim takes any odd job and drifts, avoiding people, avoiding responsibility, embittered and a monument to failure. And all the time the thing he could do, and do well, rusts out in the locker of his personality.

Some of the cases observed or cited by the investigators put the spotlight on these general principles. Around the age of fifteen years is perhaps the best time for these inferiority feelings to get hold of a person. Fitting oneself into the adult world is difficult enough at best, as science explains, but parents and teachers often make matters worse. One of the individuals who took the questionnaire test and made a surprisingly low mark, is none the less a man of unquestioned intelligence and innate ability. He says sadly enough that he never got anywhere.

His story is this: As a baby he had a lisp in his speech. His parents at first thought it cute and made no effort to correct it. When he was well along in his teens, however, they became alarmed. Teasing and twitting him of the lisp, they tried to make him overcome it by pointing out what a spectacle he'd be, a grown man, talking like that. His teachers, unfortunately, followed the same course, with the result that he took to avoiding speech, and became eventually a silent, morose young man. In his twenties he decided he must correct his speaking difficulty, and to his great satisfaction he found that with great effort of will he could do so.

After much secret practice he essayed finally to speak out in public before an assemblage. He started splendidly and well, but like a thief in the night fear stole over him—the old fear that he wasn't speaking as it seemed he was. He began watching the faces of those about him for signs of ridicule or criticism. His fear became so acute he lost the thread of his discourse, halted, stammered, became confused and lisped. In his disappointment, he accepted unconsciously but definitely the idea of inferiority. His parents and teachers had so filled his mind with the fear of being laughed at that he could not escape from his inferiority belief.

Lincoln's companionship with inferiority

Yet over against his case one cannot refrain from setting that of the martyred President Lincoln. Born in poverty, the Great Emancipator was so ungainly of

body and so homely of face that when he first entered politics he was ridiculed as "the Illinois Ape." All his life Lincoln suffered from feelings of inferiority induced by that early ridicule. The story goes that even when he wrote the famous Gettysburg address, one of the finest things of its kind ever conceived, he in a melancholy mood considered both the speech and himself as a failure. But, unlike the man with the lisp, Lincoln somehow found the antidote for inferiority feelings. He forgot about his defects, and set to work to develop his genius for understanding people, for serving mankind, for moral leadership. And to-day Lincoln's very ungraceful figure and face have become a badge of honor. Yet, for one Lincoln, say the scientists, there are thousands who permit such inferiority feelings to get hold of them and ruin their lives.

Going to the other extreme

While we have seen that men of substantial powers like Lincoln, Napoleon and old Demosthenes can rise above their feelings of inferiority or real disabilities and achieve great triumphs, yet there is another class of individual who tries to overcome his inferiority complex by becoming over-confident, over-bold, over-assuming. This is the boastful, egotistical, vain type of person, full of self-importance and self-confidence. He is equal to anything, can run any man's business and solve any national or international problem—if he only had the opportunity to show them how. And sometimes this self-confident individual is taken at face-value,

gets into a position of importance, demonstrates his incompetence and soon finds himself on his way out.

These persons, psychologically speaking, are whistling in the dark to keep up their courage. Instead of facing themselves as they are, they try to convince themselves and others, unconsciously, of course, that they are really much different. The braggart, the small-town show-off are over-compensating for feelings of inferiority. Their over-compensation prompts them to rush in to try the impossible and, of course, brings many failures which only serve to make them all the more over-compensated. Over-compensation is usually worse for the individual's mental health than to be meek and modest.

Even more interesting, however, are some of the signs which the scientists say indicate inferiority feelings and which may be observed in persons all around us. Victims of this particular blight, they declare, are poor losers, especially in games of chance, because they are inclined to take even such losses as additional proof of their inadequacy. For the same reason, they are jealous and bitter over the success of others, especially in fields where they themselves have striven and failed. Oftentimes persons who slam doors, throw themselves into chairs and otherwise act rough and assertive are not born roughnecks, but are simply struggling to make up for a feeling of inferiority by making themselves appear bold and dominant.

Oddly enough, sometimes such antics do restore confidence that has been dissipated by inferiority breeders —such as ridicule in youth, vain efforts to accomplish

something desired by parents or teachers, but for which one has no specific ability, over-emphasis on physical defects, etc. Thus it was, for example, in the case of a man who never wears rubber heels because he needs —or feels that he needs—the sound of his leather heels on walks and floors to give him confidence in himself.

Answer These Questions Honestly and See If You Are Hampered by Inferiority Notions.

Check here if answer is "Yes"		Check here if answer is "No"
——	Do you rely on your own judgment instead of that of others as to embarking on new enterprises, jobs, etc.?	——
——	Do you promptly accept responsibility?	——
——	When responsible jobs are not offered you, do you go after them?	——
——	Can you discuss fairly and frankly your own character and abilities?	——
——	When contradicted do you stand up for your own views or versions of past events?	——
——	Does modesty, fear or deference *not* prevent you from expressing your honest opinions?	——
——	Do you welcome the opportunity to meet new people?	——
——	Do you keep from "blowing up" and abusing others when you lose in games of chance?	——
——	Do you start things yourself, rather than waiting for someone else to suggest them or tell you?	——

—— Do you insist upon results, not permitting yourself to make excuses to yourself? ——

—— Do you go ahead and complete distasteful tasks? ——

—— Can you work in the presence of others without being rattled? ——

—— After you have made a decision, can you put the matter aside without worry? ——

—— Do you like to tackle knotty problems? ——

—— Can you profit by the opinions of others without being unduly influenced by them? ——

—— Can you express your own opinions with confidence? ——

Give yourself a score of 6 for each question which you answer "YES." If your "YES" total is above 48 you have average self-confidence. If 72 you are quite probably entirely free from inferiority reactions. If 24 or less, you should take means to help develop your self-confidence. If you go much above 72 you are likely to be what is known as over-compensated for feelings of inferiority, and may have a "swelled head."

CHAPTER XI

ARE YOU A "YES MAN"?

THE phrase which has of late become common usage, "Yes Man" or "Yes Woman," is popular recognition of what scientists have long known—that men and women are, for the most part, "human sheep"; they run hither and thither with very little independence of thought or action. A large number of us may be confidently put down as "Yes Men"—persons who can be trusted to agree supinely and entirely with bosses, political leaders, fad pushers and even gang leaders. Indeed, according to recent psychological discoveries, these "Yes Men," like poets, are born rather than made. By this I mean that they are born with a tendency in that direction, and unless they early become aware of it and correct it, they go through life with no independence of thought or action and become nonentities.

What makes the true "Yes Man," says science, is the degree in which he or she possesses, and is influenced by, the quality known to psychologists as "suggestibility." Irrespective of how intelligent he may be, or how brave and strong at heart, because of an excess of this peculiar and mysterious human trait, he may go through life to all intents and purposes as a "Yes Man," and be put down by his associates and friends as feeble-

willed, weak-minded and all the other laughed-at characteristics so sharply depicted in "Yes Men" characters of motion pictures or cartoonist strips.

In a vague fashion, the Bible long ago recognized this truth about "Yes Men," uttering warnings against the wrath of the humble and meek. In other words, the Bible intimates, these humans may not be weak, but merely long suffering. And the truth is that consuming wrath does not necessarily come from those really weak and cowardly, but rather from folks whose inner force and strength have been for years hidden by their strong tendency to "suggestibility," or, to put it another way, their excessive willingness to listen to and accept the influence and will of others.

"Yes men" waste and conceal originality

Just why certain persons should be born with a pronounced addiction to agreement with other folks, science does not yet know. No doubt this puzzle is closely related to that other mystery as to why some of us are good subjects for hypnotists—as is the case—while others are not. Just as some humans are particularly easy to hypnotize, as was the girl Trilby, and can be put in a trance and made to do all sorts of outlandish things by any competent Svengali, so are these born "Yes Men" and "Yes Women" readily induced to agree slavishly with bosses, political leaders, faddists or organizers no matter whether these be sound, sane and intelligent or not. Many a "Yes Man" has first rate ideas of his own, but due to his "suggestibility," say

the scientists, is so impressed by and overawed by the other fellow and his opinions that he never gets to speak his own mind. Consequently, his ideas, however good, go to waste.

Testing a large number of persons for suggestibility recently, Dr. Warner Brown, of the University of California, found that a large proportion of persons were abnormally suggestible, or unduly subject to the opinions and suggestions of others. In plainer words, were typical "Yes Men."

Tests for "human sheep"

Exceedingly ingenious and amusing were Dr. Brown's tests. In the first of the series, he had thirteen bottles all of the same size and shape. In the first bottle was alcohol, in the second a colorless liquid scented with peppermint, and in the third such a liquid smelling of wintergreen, while the others contained plain, odorless water. Under the noses of those being tested he passed the bottles, first the alcohol, then the peppermint, then the wintergreen, and then the bottles of water. As each of the water bottles passed, the testee was asked which of the first three odors was in the bottles.

Of course, the questions were put straightforwardly, exactly as if one of the odors were present and therefor should be smelled. Here, you see, was suggestion or indirect influence from the doctor. Now observe, while only a very few, confidently relying upon their own sense of smell, declared there was no odor in the ten

water bottles, the vast majority said, supinely enough, such was their proneness to the influence of the doctor, that they smelled one or the other of the three odors in the odorless water bottles! Due to their mental tendency to "suggestibility" they felt no doubt that the odors were in the bottles and hence imagined they smelled them. It never occurred to them that the professor would fool them. They were typical "Yes Men" and "Yes Women."

Again, the inventive professor blindfolded his subjects, and had them hold out their hands, palms up. Successively, he touched their finger tips with a weighted cork, suspended by a thread, four times, and then with an unweighted cork suspended in the same manner. Each time they were asked if they felt the weight. All felt the weight, of course, the first four times, and a large number said that they felt the imperceptible weight on the fifth trial, while only a few, less suggestible and more "no-minded," answered sturdily that on the fifth trial they felt the touch of something but did not feel pressure or weight.

Much the same results were obtained by the professor when he confronted his subjects with a receptacle apparently containing burning coals but really holding nothing hotter than colors to imitate fire and asked them, suggestively, if they did not "feel the heat?" The great majority—confirmed "Yessers"—replied that they did. Likewise, when faced by a formidable tangle of electric wires, having grasped one of them as directed and having heard the seeming throwing in of a switch, again most of them said they felt "the shock,"

though no current at all was in the wires and, naturally, there was no shock. Only a small number had the mental integrity to say "There wasn't any shock," or "I felt nothing, Professor."

Bosses seldom learn the truth

As every observer knows, similar reactions go on all about us each day. The boss calls in several workers to get their opinions. By far the majority as a rule listen uncritically, wax enthusiastic and even praise the boss for his originality and acumen, while perhaps only a few, if any, listen with alert, challenging mind, and develop an opinion, for or against, and give their reasons.

If the boss is a sound, sensible fellow, he will value such opinions, bad or good, pro or con, more than a flock of unqualified "yesses," but that aspect of the question aside, the fact remains that the "Yes Men" here have reacted just as did the "Yes Men" in Dr. Brown's experiments.

Watch any crowd before a side show at a fair or circus and you see evidence of the same quality in operation. As the barker whoops it up, crying the sensual charms of the oriental dancer, or the strangeness of the two-headed dog, or what not, telling of wonders, amazements and romantic glamor behind the gaudy curtain, you see certain members of the audience digging in their pockets and pushing forward, while here and there others stand still or draw away, unmoved and unbelieving.

Likewise, these natural "Yes Men" are an easy prey to many other forms of ballyhoo. They read of some new patent medicine, along with the symptoms of the dire diseases it is supposed to cure, and before they know it they are sure they have the symptoms, then the disease and they are taking the medicine. They listen to whatever demagogue may coin a new set of catch words in politics and economics—whether it be the redistribution of wealth, prohibition or non-prohibition, workers of the world unite, balance the budget, or say it with flowers—and instead of going into the matter, they are swept into agreement. Indeed, they "yes" such doctrines as they do the boss. They do not think at all, but live by catch words and the pronouncements of others.

One of woman's weaknesses?

Oddly enough, say the scientists, women are more apt to be "yes-minded," in this sense, than are men; notice, by way of ordinary proof, how they are persuaded eternally from one fashion to another, regardless of cost, becomingness or need.

As might be expected, many persons have built fortunes, reputations and vast organizations simply through realization of how many "Yes Men" there are in the world, and utilizing their "suggestibility." One of the most adroit of these exploiters was the evangelist, Billy Sunday, who when he invited sinners, as he called them, to hit the trail, invoked and played upon "suggestibility" to the utmost. Before a single person

in the audience arose, according to Professor George A. Coe, of Union Theological Seminary, he would not only exhort and urge folks to come forward but would break into exclamations such as "See them coming—scores, hundreds—see them coming," meantime pointing to various parts of the house. Scores came, of course.

Sometimes it was charged that Billy had paid helpers in the audience who came forward at the right time, thus setting a compelling example for other and more independent minded "sinners." But, as any psychologist knows, he had no need to pay anyone; he—and others like him—could always count on so many born "Yes Men" in any audience who, regardless of their religious or moral views, would be unable to say, "No," to his urging, whatever they might think about it later.

Notable, too, though in another line, is the success which M. Coue, the French savant, made some years ago through the same kind of procedure. According to his own admission, M. Coue "never cured anyone," but merely showed them how to cure themselves. In other words, he simply appealed to the born "Yes Men" among us, who had been, let us say, agreeing with influences and suggestions which insisted, in effect, that they were ill, and bettered the condition of these folk by suggesting more strongly that they were well. M. Coue knew that his method was of little avail against strongly logical, analytical minds which could not be summarily "yessed" into new convictions.

Indeed, history may be said to be full of M. Coues. One of his predecessors was no less a personage than

Queen Victoria who is said to have produced "cures" by what had long been known as "the royal touch." And, in the same manner, Charles II felt that he had cured 92,000 persons. Science understands what was then a mystery—that there were many individuals who could agree with anyone whose message was striking enough to impress them, or whose authority or position was high enough; having supinely "yessed" suggestions of illness, they would as supinely "yes" suggestions and commands that they be well, for a time, at least.

Contrary-minded and pretenders

It is these born "Yes Men" among us who make mobs so dangerous and give rise to crazes, fads and odd fashions which sweep the country. They have little or no mental resistance to dynamically conceived and propagated persuasions. They hear catch words—soak the rich, lower taxes, balance the budget, or whatever it may be—on every hand and they accept the one they hear most often. In mobs, they lose all ability to examine or reason and simply swing along with the rest to whatever violence or wildness may be urged. And always in the minority are the opposite type who will not supinely "yes" anyone, or join in general "yessing" movements, but who stand foursquare upon their own convictions and judgments, like, for example, Alexander Hamilton who, though only eighteen, blocked his fellow comrades, the revolting Colonists, when they proposed to lynch Hamilton's former school teacher, a staunch Tory.

There is, of course, the pretended "Yes Man" who agrees for policy's sake but who still remains secretly of his own opinion. The true "Yes Man," curiously enough, as a rule doesn't think of himself as a "Yes Man."

The Remedy

The matter of breaking away from "yes-man-ism" is simple enough in program, though it may demand a great deal of watchfulness and concentration. The confirmed "Yes Man," or he who suspects he is such, should proceed at once to inventory his stock of knowledge, opinions and judgments; he should examine them to see whether he arrived at them by study and examination or, on the other hand, by accepting them, parrot fashion, from others without particular attempt to understand them. If he has been, let us say, such a parrot, he should take himself in hand, and proceed to study life about him, to decide what he thinks is best or right, as the case may be—and then to fearlessly and quietly express such decisions, always being careful that they are based on adequate knowledge and study. Soon, he will be a "Yes Man" no more and will find himself the recipient of a new attention, interest and respect on all sides. And even, if he delves deeply and studies sincerely and talks tactfully, the recipient of that previously difficult and seemingly impossible business, promotion and leadership.

How Much of a "Yes Man" Are You?

Check here if answer is "Yes"		Check here if answer is "No"
———	Do you find it difficult to keep from giving a hand-out to almost every person that asks for it?	———
———	Do you write letters when radio programs ask listeners to write and tell how the program was liked?	———
———	Are you eager to follow all the new fads in fashions, regardless of whether they are becoming or sensible?	———
———	When a curbstone huckster asks the crowd on the sidewalk to gather in closer, do you crowd in with the rest?	———
———	When trying to decide how to spend an evening, do you usually end up by doing things or going places suggested by somebody else?	———
———	Were you one of those who followed the absurd fashion of wearing furs in July and August weather?	———
———	Do you applaud and pretend to enjoy hearing classical music which you do not understand and do not like?	———
———	Do you take your hat off in an elevator in a shop or public building when women are present in the elevator?	———
———	Are you a Democrat or a Republican because your father was, without regard to independent thinking on your own part?	———
———	Do you read books because they are recom-	———

mended by some club or society rather than selecting them on your own judgment?

The more "Yes" answers you have, the more of a "human sheep" you are—the more susceptible to suggestion and the less accustomed to independent thought and action.

CHAPTER XII

LOOK TO YOUR PERSONALITY!

We have heard a great deal of intelligence tests in recent years, a form of research which first achieved wide-spread attention during the World War. One of its interesting results has been to hint that the average adult of any age has no greater mental powers than a child of about fourteen. Intelligence is inborn. We may use our intelligence to the limit or we may let it lie idle, but we cannot increase its degree by our own efforts.

Personality is a part of our personal equipment which has as important an influence on our success and happiness as our intelligence. Its relation to intelligence is a very indirect one. It is concerned primarily with emotional outlets. Sometimes personality and intelligence seem to be definitely at odds. Fascinating personalities are found among morons and the feeble-minded, while the personality disturbances of geniuses of great intelligence are a matter of history as well as of common legend. Too much thinking can easily prevent the full blossom of emotional life which marks the well integrated personality.

A favorable personality make-up can increase the usefulness of average intelligence, while a poor per-

sonality make-up can hamper the keenest intellect. There are many psychologists who believe that the intellects have the greater personality handicaps, but there is no definite evidence yet to prove this. It is known, however, that a person with high intelligence is just as likely to need personality development as is one with average or even low intelligence.

One of the depressing discoveries made by intelligence surveys is that here and there among groups of day laborers is a man with intelligence enough to enable him to lead a high grade professional career. Handicapped by lack of ambition and poor personality in general he is a double loss. Society is losing the possible contributions of his accomplishments on a higher plane, and he himself is losing the wider service and recognition and the greater earnings which would rightfully be his but for the handicap of inferior personality.

Whenever workers at varying levels have their intelligence surveyed there are always a small number discovered who could be achieving vastly more than they actually are—if they only had the personality which made them capable of self-development along the right lines.

Commercial value of personality

Many capable persons believe that success in their chosen work is assured by mere knowledge of the details of the job, *plus hard work*. This narrowed view has kept many from achieving their real possibilities,

both in business and in social activities. It is a belief that is as ill-founded as it is fallacious.

From many psychological laboratories in recent years has come encouraging and positive knowledge that something beside hard work and simple job knowledge builds achievement. This newer knowledge about personal analysis is being widely used to help individuals overcome personality fetters which handicap even the highest skill and ability.

These fetters are not ignorance of the job or laziness. They are largely concerned with personality traits about which the individual himself is usually ignorant. Usually we do not know what personality traits others think we have, and furthermore we usually do not know the traits which have been found important in helping build business and social success.

The traits which make for advancement to the higher grade executive positions in business organizations have been discussed at length in Chapter VIII. The individuals whose cases had been studied in preparation of the data used in that chapter were already minor executives—that is, they were all of them men of a good all-around grade of both personality and intelligence, or they would not have reached the places where they already were. A number of the characteristics which distinguished those who seemed better equipped for further advancement than the others were therefore things which had to do with job knowledge, or the knowledge of how to handle others whom they would find working under them in higher executive jobs. The magnitude of the importance of a fun-

damental good all-around personality did not show up to its full extent from the data used, because all of the men being studied were of above-average personality to start with. In spite of that, the importance of certain personality handicaps in checking the possible progress of the weaker men among these minor executives was clearly shown.

Mastery of the details of one's calling is not enough to bring a man to the point of maximum earnings if he has not the personality to back this knowledge and assist in smoothing the way to apply it. A psychologist at Purdue University recently found convincing evidence of this in the careers of graduate engineers who had been employed for five years.

The group which rated highest in personality was earning an average income of $3,000 a year. The group of lowest personality rating was earning only $2,058 a year. Personality was paying the former group nearly a thousand dollars a year apiece!

Good intelligence did not pay them nearly so well as did good personality. Those highest in intelligence were earning $2,628 a year, while those lowest in intelligence were earning $2,478 a year. Superior intelligence paid each $150 a year—while a superior personality paid more than six times as much.

Earnings should not, of course, be looked upon as a complete measure of one's success. But earnings are a tangible measure and one that is widely regarded. The happiness and self-regard of the individual are closely related to his earned income, even though a few rare persons can be poor as a church mouse and

still be blissfully happy. These are exceptions which help to prove the rule.

For most persons the indications are that self-confidence and happiness increase as earnings rise. It is also known from other research, as has been mentioned earlier in this book, that one is happier when his personality fits perfectly into the requirements of his job and of his situation in life.

What random development does

Personality works out in life like skill in the game of billiards. It is the best player in a billiard game who gets the most practice. Having the greatest skill at the start, he gets more shots during the game, and gains more practice in his approach to perfection. The poor player, who needs the practice most, gets the least.

The game of life seems to treat personality in just that way. The individual with the smoothly functioning personality make-up which is adapted to the demands of his life gets most practice in developing favorable personality traits. The individual who is handicapped, and who probably does not realize his handicaps, gets practice chiefly in the handicapping traits.

How this will work out with the graduate engineers in the next ten years we can almost predict even now. They had their personalities assayed during their senior year in college. Their differences in earnings were the result of their personalities; the differences in earnings did not cause the personality differences.

We could reasonably expect the difference in earnings to become still greater in future years as the good personality group gains a still better personality through this effect of practice which we have been discussing. And we could reasonably anticipate that the group with poor personalities as senior engineering students will get progressively poorer—unless they have the good fortune to analyze their traits scientifically and deliberately improve them.

The intelligence of these engineers does not correlate closely with their earnings after five years' experience. Favorable personality traits correlate positively and significantly with earnings. That means that we could have predicted their relative earnings before they went to work after we knew their personality scores, but not from knowing their intelligence scores.

The favorable personality of the graduate engineers which appeared responsible for their earning $1,000 more a year than their fellows was dependent upon fifteen specific traits. The more important traits were

enthusiasm
tact
self-reliance
memory
aggressiveness
accuracy.

Next in importance were

cooperation
reliability
originality
sympathy
sincerity
industry
social interest.

Of least importance, but still important, were

neatness
appreciating humor.

Encouragement for the average man

It is encouraging for the average man that authorities have at last agreed upon the importance of personality in contrast with intelligence. Intelligence cannot be increased by study, book learning or mental gymnastics. Traits of personality, on the other hand, can readily be changed under the proper guidance, except in a very small percentage of cases where the trait is founded upon some emotional kink.

Intelligence is primarily inborn. To have high intelligence is a credit to one's parents rather than to oneself. The individual himself deserves credit only when he makes the most effective use of this valuable heritage.

To have a personality make-up which allows him to use his full intelligence is to the credit of the individual himself, since personality is primarily acquired. No doubt many persons have acquired their particular personality traits in a haphazard, accidental fashion, little realizing that they were thus turning over to sheer luck one of the most vital factors which determine their possibilities of achievement.

It has been shown beyond doubt that personality can be guided and controlled and developed into fruitful forms in the average adult. It is usually just ignorance of what to develop or how to develop it that has caused the control of the forces of personality to be left to Lady Luck by so many people.

Chance, or accident, or luck, is more likely to subtract from success for the average person than to add to it. At best luck can add but little in the long run.

A University of Wisconsin psychologist in studying job aptitude has made the well-considered estimate that at best purely chance factors contribute not more than ten to twenty per cent to individual success—leaving around 85 per cent of success due to ability *plus the dynamo of personality.*

A New York University psychologist flatly attributes 85 per cent to personality under the broad key traits of

impressiveness	decision
initiative	adaptability
thoroughness	leadership
observation	organizing ability
concentration	expression
constructive imagination	knowledge.

Effect of modern civilization on personality

There is no evidence that the emotional outlets for human personality have improved in the past twenty centuries. In fact, I believe a strong case could be made for the contention that if the Christian Era has witnessed any changes in human personality these changes have been in the nature of a weakening—not weakening in the moral or characterological sense, but from the viewpoint of a mechanistic psychology.

The modern widened horizons and exposure to desired luxuries—which by desire are oftentimes converted into a psychological necessity—have done much to make the adjustment of personality to environment more complicated and perhaps more imperative than ever before in history. Our present civilization may be

fairly said to bombard mankind with a maximum of emotional stimulation while at the same time setting up a maximum of forces which thwart emotional outlets.

One can easily agree with Roy K. Moulton, public utilities executive and former University of Chicago astronomer, that the factors of noise, movies, and reading may alter noticeably the future habits of the race. Later we shall try to hazard a prediction about the definite effects these and other forces may have upon the formation of a "typically American" personality aggregate.

Dr. J. K. Hall, writing in the Southern Journal of Medicine and Surgery, makes the following observations:

"Most of the difficulty in modern life is not caused by our struggle with matter, but with our own beliefs and our own thoughts, and with the thoughts of others. The field of man's battle is within his own mind—with his own instincts, his own thoughts, his own feelings. His life is made constantly more difficult, not only by the multitudinous devices with which he has to work, but even more so by the network of laws and customs with which he has entangled himself. Most of the tragedies of life are due to conflicts between primitive ways and the demands of civilization. Let us know ourselves as we are. Does the causative factor of the failure lie in the individual or in the complexities of the social order that are too much for his faculties of adjustment? How much civilization can we endure?

May we not be fabricating a social structure about us that may be unendurable?"

The weakness in the adjustment between personality and a gradually changing environment has a two-fold foundation. It is partly due to the environment, as we have indicated, and partly to the damnable facility with which human beings can adapt themselves excellently to a wide variety of situations, but with the establishment at the same time of reactions which, although they temporarily solve the dilemma, weaken both the individual and racial personality.

People become so adapted to slum life, for instance, that they are genuinely homesick when their conditions are improved, as any disillusioned social worker will tell you. Parents become so adjusted to the emotional whims of their children that the youth, habit by habit, is placed out of adjustment to a world of reality, as any educator will tell you. The adult, in like fashion, is each day becoming more entrenched in his individual forms of adjustment, as any psychiatrist will confirm.

Effect of age on personality

Human personality potentialities at birth are probably little different now from what they have been for thousands of centuries, but in the transformation of these personality germs into the personality pattern of the adult many factors of our civilization enter which are capable of producing profound differences in the final result. Even were personality known to be definitely inborn, by the time adulthood is reached the

differences which at birth seemed slight would be magnified by the fact that for a score of years each individual has had cumulative practice in the predominant traits of his personality pattern, while others have had but little practice in exercising these same traits.

Dr. John E. Anderson has recently observed the operation of this in the Institute of Child Welfare at Minneapolis in the complex trait of "leadership". One child in the course of a year obtains hundreds of practices in the exercise of this trait, while others receive scarcely any practice. It has to be admitted that there may be inherent differences between the young children in the possession of the trait, but their daily experience only serves to strengthen and magnify this difference.

The net result is for idiosyncracies, whether weaknesses or strong points, to become more marked with increasing years through sheer practice and exercise. The pouter obtains more practice in pouting. The cynic becomes more skilled in his cynicism. The spineless yes-man becomes a more chronic "yesser". This is an important fact which must be kept in mind in supplement to psychoanalytic principles in dealing with problems of personality and development. Here lies the chief hope of the average man who is not in distinct need of a profound mental analysis.

If personalities were inborn the only practical method of strengthening them nationally would be a eugenic program—a thing which could probably never be carried out. To draw a contrast again between intelligence and personality, the evidence indicates

rather definitely that intelligence is inborn and that all education and training can do is to direct intellectual powers into fruitful channels and give them better conceptual tools with which to work. Selective mating would appear the only way in which national intelligence in the raw could be raised.

When we turn to personality traits, however, we find no consistent or conclusive evidence that they are inherited. The Colgate laboratory has been gathering data on this question for the past five years. During this time a considerable amount of data has been collected, but it furnishes no conclusive indications.

The eugenicists of today have kept alive the theory of the hereditary nature of personality for which scientists such as Lombroso and Binet were largely responsible in the beginning. This theory has undoubtedly delayed the inception of any wide-spread scientific treatment for personality troubles. There has been also a more important reason for this delay in the development of an active therapeusis of personality. That is the lack of sufficient scientific knowledge, a lack which is being gradually overcome.

Training in childhood

From 1925 to 1927 the Colgate laboratory was able to secure data from 282 cases of college men whose childhood environment was faithfully described both by themselves and by their parents. Data was actually obtained from a larger number of cases, but these 282 were selected for analysis because in these cases both

the boy and his parents agreed in their portrayal of the childhood factors.

The childhood factors concerning which we obtained information were related to three psychological test performances: intelligence, introversion-extroversion on the Colgate rating scale (see Chapter III), and psychoneurotic personality traits on another Colgate rating scale. There was no clinical or individual interpretation of results, group comparisons being used entirely in order to give a basis for generalizing when trends made this possible. Intelligence records were used as control, for it is difficult to conceive of intelligence being modified by having slept with one's mother rather than with a brother in childhood, although it is readily seen how this might influence the personality habits of maturity.

Should parents hold signs of affection in reserve in their relations with their children? Not quite half of the group had held signs of affection in reserve—which may mean in some cases that there was not a strong link of affection. There was a predominance of introversion in the sons of these people, while there was a predominance of extroversion among the sons of parents who stood at the other extreme. Either extreme on the part of the parents, it is to be noted, is associated with emotional instability in the child.

It should be remarked in passing that in a random selection of the rating blanks of these cases there is no relationship shown between introversion-extroversion and instability. While marked signs of affection on the part of parents are associated with both extroversion

and instability, it does not follow that extroversion and instability are linked.

Severe disciplinary methods are associated with introversion, light or infrequent discipline with extroversion. One would expect that for sheer mischief an extrovert child would merit more discipline, yet we find that the introvert of college age received more punishment as a child. We do not feel justified in assigning a causative rôle to this factor, or to any of the factors, for many other considerations enter. For instance, it is not yet established that an individual who is introvert as a child is introvert also as an adult. This much is known: introversion and extroversion can be distinguished in children of pre-school age as well as in adults. We further know that there are slight changes in adult personality trends over a four-year period spent in college. It is impossible, however, to state whether parents are more prone to punish introverted children, or whether introverted children who are punished only lightly and infrequently become extroverted.

Before a definite answer can be given to many vital questions of this sort there must be investigations which involve a series of follow-ups of children from early childhood until maturity. This brief discussion is introduced here to make clear again the fact that we are presenting results rather than interpretations. The association between punishment and introversion is most marked when the father was the chief disciplinary agent. To some extent there was also a tend-

ency to instability in the cases where the father had administered most of the discipline.

Severe and frequent punishment was present in only a small number of the cases recorded.

Boys from homes where there was a deeply religious atmosphere were introverted, boys from homes where the religious atmosphere was negligible were extroverted. The results in emotional stability were unusually strongly marked. A strong religious atmosphere was associated with extreme stability, and little religious background with slight instability.

Ignoring the fears of childhood is associated with introversion, reasoning them away with extroversion. The majority of parents had attempted to reason out the child's fears with him. A stable emotional trend is associated with reasoning out the fears, instability with ignoring them.

Those who had the most pronounced imagination as children are now unstable and introvert. Where parents encouraged fantasies as a "means of developing imagination" the unstable trend is now more marked. Practically no attempt had been made by the parents to discourage imagination.

Those who indulged in physical combat are now the more stable, as are also those whose parents had talked over their childhood difficulties with them, and those who were very active as children.

It is often stated by psychologists that the only child suffers a personality handicap. Data which the laboratory has gathered do not indicate that the average

only child is distinctive in his personality formations. Apparently his supposed handicap is not a real one.

Changing personality deliberately

Can one intentionally change from an introverted to an extroverted personality? We have already discussed various bits of evidence which indicate the trend of the latest scientific opinion on this point. It is certainly possible for any normal person with average intelligence, will-power and the desire for self-improvement to develop or change his own personality along certain desired lines. How completely he can change it, if he wishes to make a very radical change, depends undoubtedly upon the individual.

A short time ago a prominent feminist whose name is familiar to all told me that some twenty years ago, when starting her career, she soon observed that she was handicapped in her public contacts by certain traits, which were outstanding introvert characteristics. For several years she gave considerable effort to trying to change these traits, and with admirable results. Those who know her now would describe her as an outstanding extrovert—but knowing her past struggle we will have to characterize her as an introvert readjusted to an extrovert activity.

We have tried the experiment of transforming introverted students into extroverts and extroverted students into introverts by simply pointing out definite traits for them to concentrate their efforts upon. Those of extreme make-up were selected and their coopera-

tion assured. The technique, if it deserves such a name, was simplicity itself. The experimenter merely pointed out to them in conference traits in which they were at one extreme or the other, and discussed homely means of modifying these traits. In half the cases the changes were encouraging. In the remainder no changes were observed during the next year. Here is an illustration of the fact that an intentional alteration of traits of personality can be brought about in many persons by the simple process of trying to moderate a reaction or series of reactions. The technique was not psychoanalytic in any strict sense of the term.

Several crucial questions arise as the result of these experiments. Why did half of the group show no apparent change in their personality reactions in the course of a year? Is there a possibility of undesirable results arising from the voluntary attempt to alter these personality traits? Why could not changes be brought about in the extroverted make-up as readily as in the introverted? Could the individual voluntarily bring about changes unaided, once he knew the points in which change seemed desirable?

The traits which were difficult or impossible to alter by the simple technique followed are probably those which were founded upon a strong subconscious trend in the individual's mental organization. In contrast, those traits which were largely simple habit developments without the deeper foundation were probably the ones which were easily changed. It is of great importance in this personality remoulding to distinguish between what may be called simple habit traits, and

other traits which may appear equally simple on the surface but which are based upon profound subconscious trends. It is those with the deeper roots which constitute the greater problem.

The outlook for the average person is more optimistic than that for the abnormal persons who are really psychoanalytic cases, as large numbers of common personality traits are principally habits in the old-fashioned sense, and can be pretty thoroughly broken by a persistent exertion of will-power.

The latest addition to the positive forces which are making practical use of psychological discoveries regarding personality is a personal advisory service, which brings to the successful man insight into his own personal traits—implicitly assuming that there may be such a thing as a successful misfit. More than 10,000 high-salaried men sought personal analysis by this organization in its first year. No vocational guidance nor psychoanalysis was on the program, yet state governors, college directors and corporation presidents sought an analysis of and introduction to their "inner man".

We have not been able to determine any specific trait in the complex grouping of traits studied which is clearly of subconscious foundation in all cases. Extreme suspiciousness of the motives of others may be so founded, for instance, in one case, and in another be a pure habit development resulting from early training.

Dr. Jung classifies and reclassifies the introvert-extrovert grouping into many sub-groups. This we have

not been able to do because it would take us away from the laboratory and into the armchair. We have found many instances, however, in which the apparent extroversion of individuals did not seem to ring true. For these we are using the term "compensated introverts", for they give many signs of having been introverts who have rather spontaneously transformed themselves into the objective behavior of an extrovert while retaining many of the inward traits of the true introvert. These are puzzling and fascinating cases. They reflect the paradoxical tendency for the extrovert to be more fascinating in the parlor while the introvert is more fascinating to study.

Spontaneous personality changes will always be somewhat of a gamble, because most people are in ignorance of their own personality trends. The subjective impression one has of his own personality is as likely to be hazy as it is to be misleading. Hence the need for outside assistance arises. Much of the recent literature on personality is deficient in its attitude toward this aspect of the problem, since it embarks in many instances from the philosophical conception of the ego, or is a disguised formulation of William James' theory of the individual's various selves.

What governs personality?

Personality, like electricity, is hard to handle and to understand, because we see how it works and what it does, but we cannot know completely its real nature.

We can only learn partially, by experiment, what factors cause it and govern its qualities.

There is no concrete thing, such as a segment of the brain, which determines personality. Its relation to intelligence is an obscure one. The influence of heredity on it is also uncertain, although we know now that that influence is at most not a permanently vital factor.

Physical appearance has something to contribute to personality, but socially it is of less importance than other less tangible factors. Some of the most fascinating and successful persons are positively ugly. Obviously their ugliness would be a well-nigh insurmountable handicap were it not for the wide appeal of their personality. Conversely, persons of remarkable personal beauty sometimes have a personality so ill-developed that they are social failures.

Personality is a complex affair composed of a multitude of blending traits, among which those of most crucial importance are the ones which attract or repel other persons. Its make-up should be carefully watched, for one unfortunate trait may counteract a horde of beneficial ones.

Personality is oftentimes indefinite, but it is the dynamic part of our mental life. It is fluid and in continual development, whether we try to develop it or not. When it develops along too eccentric or too selfish or otherwise repellent lines it causes more unhappiness than any external factor is capable of causing in most lives. Rightly developed it is the basis of the greatest genuine happiness. We have just begun to realize that it can be consciously guided in the right channels. It

would be hard to set any limit to the prospects of what this conscious guidance of personality—either by the individual unaided or with the aid of trained observers —may accomplish in the future for the betterment of human nature and the increased happiness of mankind.

List of experimental and popular reports by Dr. Donald A. Laird and other workers in the Colgate laboratory which bear on the subject of this book:

By Dr. Donald A. Laird:

"The element of personality in nursing," in the American Journal of Nursing, July 1921, Vol. 21, pages 697-702; August 1921, Vol. 21, pages 775-778.

"Is your mind like an iceberg?" in the Forum, October 1922, Vol. 69, pages 893-899.

"The reaction of college students to mental hygiene," in Mental Hygiene, 1923, Vol. 7, pages 271-276.

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"How the high school student responds to different incentives to work," in the Pedagogical Seminary, 1923, Vol. 30, pages 358-365.

"How the college student responds to different incentives to work," in the Pedagogical Seminary, 1923, Vol. 30, pages 366-370.

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"Should young people study themselves?" in Survey Graphic, 1925, (January), pages 405-407.

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"Your personality and your job," in Forbes', 1930, (October 15).

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By Ralph K. Hoitsma:

"Reliability and relationships of the Colgate Mental hygiene tests," in the journal of Applied Psychology, 1925, Vol. 9, pages 293-303.

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"Sex differences in emotional outlets," in Science, 1925, Vol. 62, page 292.

By J. Bateman Young and Edwin Shoemaker:

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By John Cameron Stuart:

"Data on the alleged psychopathology of the only child," in the Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1926, Vol. 20, page 441.

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"The emotional outlets of gamblers," in the Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1928, Vol. 23, pages 38-39.

By Herbert C. Brownell:

"Mental test traits of college cribbers," in School and Society, 1928, Vol. 27, page 764.

"Mental make-up as related to susceptibility to illness," in American Medicine, 1929, Vol. 24, pages 99-102.

By Roswell H. Whitman:

"Sex and age differences in introversion-extroversion," in the Journal of Psychology, 1929, Vol. 24, pages 207-211.

"A short scale for measuring introversion-extroversion," in the Journal of Applied Psychology, 1929, Vol. 13, pages 499-504.

By Robert H. Elwood:

"The rôle of personality traits in selecting a career," in the Journal of Applied Psychology, 1927, Vol. 11, pages 199-201.

Donald A. Laird

Dr. Donald A. Laird has been director of the Psychological Laboratory of Colgate University since 1924; during this period the laboratory has become internationally famous for its research discoveries in the fields of industrial and physiological psychology.

He is the author of "Increasing Personal Efficiency," "Psychology and Profits," "Sleep," "Psychology of Selecting Men," and "Applied Psychology for Nurses," some of which have been on the lists of best selling non-fiction.

He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts of London, a member of the council of the Association for Personality Training; on the International Fatigue Committee of the Society of Industrial Engineers; on the Committee for Elimination of Noise of the National Safety Council.

Doctor Laird has been engaged as consulting psychologist by many important commercial organizations, including labor unions.

During the average year Doctor Laird travels somewhat more than a hundred thousand miles in connection with his work.

Doctor Laird directed the exhibit on sleep and fatigue for the Century of Progress Exposition at Chicago in 1933.

In addition to the 19-room psychological laboratory of Colgate University of which he has charge, Doctor Laird has his own private laboratory of five rooms at his home "Rivercrest."

During the World War he was a psychological examiner in the U. S. Navy. A native Hoosier, he has taught at Yale, Northwestern, Iowa, and Wyoming in addition to his work at Colgate.

WHAT PEOPLE SAY ABOUT

Why We Don't Like People

BY DONALD A. LAIRD

Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph:

The book shows there is something beyond hard work and mere knowledge which makes for success. The author shows why half the people in the world dislike the other half. No concrete thing determines personality. Its relation to intelligence is obscure. Some of the most fascinating and successful persons have been physically unattractive.

Newark News:

We may blame or give credit to our parents for our intelligence, but we may hold no one but ourselves responsible for our personality. It is easy enough to be liked or appreciated by the members of one's own family or group of friends who share common ideas and ideals. But it is another thing to have an adequate personality for the demands of the business and social world.

New York Times:

Practical and untechnical and based wholly on the results of experimental investigation. Most people ought to find the book very useful and helpful.

Hartford Times:

"Why We Don't Like People" is a polite title. Its real intent is "Why People Don't Like Us". Dr. Laird tells us very frankly of many traits and habits which are antagonizing and unpleasant. He explains how such tricks as talking fast, monopolizing conversation, and being very assertive, react upon others, and shows how they may be overcome.

Dayton News:

Here is a book every intelligent person should, and likely will, read and reread with the utmost care. If you are seeking a scientific understanding of your own unhappiness and unpopularity, this book will help you. Dr. Laird shows that "personality plus" can be acquired not in 10 easy lessons—*but by knowing oneself and the reactions of other people*. He tells us exactly what we must say and do to induce nearly everyone to like us.

Karl A. Menninger, M.D. *The Menninger Clinic of Psychiatry and Neurology, Topeka, Kansas. Author of* THE HUMAN MIND:

Doctor Laird's book will be helpful to very many people, particularly to those whose intelligence directs them to seek a scientific understanding of their own unhappiness and unpopularity.